



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

—

.

•

;

;

;

;

;

;

—

THE
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

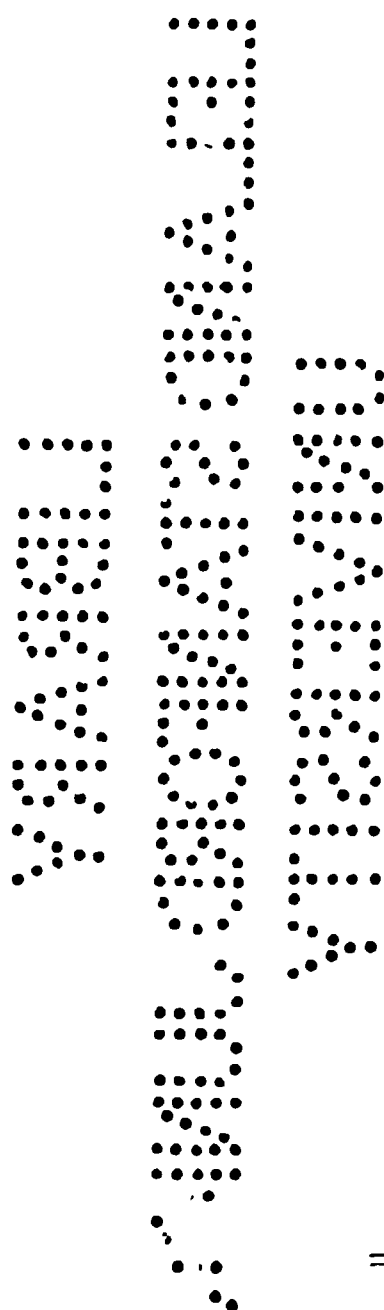
VOL. 193.

PUBLISHED IN

JANUARY & APRIL, 1901.

L O N D O N :
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET,

1901.



1 0 0 4 6 1

LONDON :
Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, Limited
Stamford Street and Charing Cross.

CONTENTS

OF

No. 385.

	PAGE
ART. I.—BRITISH AGRICULTURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY - - - - -	1
1. Reports of the first Board of Agriculture. London: 1794–1815.	
2. The Farmer's Magazine. Edinburgh: 1800, 1801. And other works.	
ART. II.—THE POEMS OF CRABBE - - - - -	21
1. The Poetical Works of the Rev. George Crabbe, with his Letters and Journals, and his Life. Edited by his son. Eight vols. London: John Murray, 1834.	
2. The Poems of George Crabbe. A Selection. Arranged and edited by Bernard Holland. London: Edward Arnold, 1899.	
ART. III.—THE FIRST CENTURY OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY - - - - -	44
1. A History of British India. By Sir William Wilson Hunter. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1899–1900.	
2. The Diary of William Hedges (1681–1687). Edited by Col. Henry Yule and R. Barlow. (Hakluyt Society.) Three vols. London: 1887–1889. And other works.	
ART. IV.—THE VICTORIAN STAGE - - - - -	75
1. The Drama of Yesterday and To-day. By Clement Scott. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1899.	
2. Dramatic Criticism. By J. T. Grein. London: John Long, 1899. And other works.	
ART. V.—VIRGIL AND TENNYSON: A LITERARY PARALLEL	99
1. P. Vergilii Maronis Opera Omnia. Recensuerunt T. L. Papillon A.M. et A. E. Haigh A.M. Oxonii: e prelo Clarendoniano, 1895.	
2. Ancient Lives of Vergil, with an Essay on the Poems of Vergil. By H. Nettleship. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879. And other works.	

	PAGE
ART. VI.—MICHELET AS AN HISTORIAN - - -	130
1. <i>Ma Jeunesse</i> . Par Jules Michelet. Deuxième Édition. Paris: C. Lévy, 1884.	
2. <i>Jules Michelet: Œuvres Complètes</i> . Édition définitive, revue et corrigée. Paris: Flammarion, 1893, &c. And other works.	
ART. VII.—THE AMIR OF AFGHANISTAN - - -	151
1. <i>The Life of Abdur Rahman, Amir of Afghanistan</i> . Edited by Mir Munshi Sultan Mahomed Khan. Two vols. London: John Murray, 1900.	
2. <i>Khurasan and Sistan</i> . By Lieut.-Colonel C. E. Yate. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1900. And other works.	
ART. VIII.—ARMY REFORM - - -	171
1. <i>The 'Times' History of the War in South Africa</i> . Edited by L. S. Amery. Vol. I. London: Sampson Low, 1900.	
2. <i>The South African War</i> . By Major S. L. Norris. London: John Murray, 1900. And other works.	
ART. IX.—THE LATER YEARS OF NAPOLEON - - -	202
1. <i>Napoléon Intime</i> . Par Arthur Lévy. Paris: Plon, 1893.	
2. <i>La Captivité de Sainte-Hélène, d'après les rapports inédits du Marquis de Montchenu</i> . Par G. Firmin-Didot. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1894. And other works.	
ART. X.—THE SETTLEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA - - -	224
1. <i>Boer Politics</i> . By Yves Guyot. Translated from the French. London: John Murray, 1900.	
2. <i>The Settlement after the War in South Africa</i> . By M. J. Farrelly, LL.D. London: Macmillan, 1900. And other works.	
ART. XI.—PROFESSOR HUXLEY - - -	258
1. <i>Life and Letters of Thomas Henry Huxley</i> . By his son, Leonard Huxley. Two Vols. London: Macmillan, 1900.	
2. <i>Leaders in Science: Thomas Henry Huxley—A Sketch of his Life and Work</i> . By P. Chalmers Mitchell, M.A. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900. And other works.	
ART. XII.—THE NICARAGUAN CANAL - - -	279

CONTENTS

OF

No. 386.



	PAGE
ART. I.—THE CHARACTER OF QUEEN VICTORIA - - -	301
ART. II.—BRITISH AGRICULTURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY - - - - -	338
1. Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England. London: 1853–1900.	
2. Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland. Edinburgh: 1853–1900. And other works.	
ART. III.—ANCIENT AND MODERN CRITICISM - - -	359
1. A History of Æsthetic. By Bernard Bosanquet. London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1892.	
2. L'Anarchie Littéraire. Par Charles Recolin. Paris: Perrin, 1898. And other works.	
ART. IV.—PASTEUR AND HIS DISCOVERIES - - -	384
1. La vie de Pasteur. Par René Vallery-Radot. Paris: Hachette, 1900.	
2. Pasteur. By Percy Frankland and Mrs Percy Frank- land. (Century Science Series.) London: Cassell, 1898. And other works.	
ART. V.—NAVY BOILERS - - - - -	406
1. Water-Tube Boilers. By J. A. Normand. London: The Bedford Press, 1895.	
2. Marine Boilers: their Construction and Working. By L. E. Bertin, Chief Constructor of the French Navy. Translated and edited by L. G. Robertson. With Preface by Sir W. White. London: John Murray, 1898. And other works.	

	PAGE
ART. VI.—THE HOUSING QUESTION - - - - -	432
1. The Health of Nations. A review of the works of Edwin Chadwick. By Benjamin Ward Richardson. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1887.	
2. Essays on Rural Hygiene. By George Vivian Poore, M.D., F.R.C.P. Second edition. London: Longmans, 1894.	
And other works.	
ART. VII.—HUMANISM AND CHRISTIANITY - - - - -	458
1. La fin du Paganisme. Par Gaston Boissier, de l'Académie Française. Paris: 1891.	
2. Les femmes de la Renaissance. Par R. De Maulde La Clavière. Paris: 1898.	
And other works.	
ART. VIII.—THE GAME OF BILLIARDS - - - - -	482
1. Billiards. (The Badminton Library.) By Major W. Broadfoot, with contributions by other writers. New edition. London: Longmans, 1897.	
2. Le Billard. Par M. Vignaux. Paris: Delarue, <i>n.d.</i>	
And other works.	
ART. IX.—THE RELIEF OF KUMASSI - - - - -	499
1. Correspondence relating to the Ashanti War, 1900. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Majesty. March 1901.	
2. Jours d'angoisse à Coumassie. Journal du missionnaire Fritz Ramseyer. Neuchatel: Delachaux et Niestlé, 1901.	
And other works.	
ART. X.—THE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY - - - - -	522
1. Regina v. Cockerton. Judgment of the Queen's Bench Division, December 20th, 1900.	
2. Rex v. Cockerton. Judgment of the Court of Appeal, April 1st, 1901.	
And other works.	
ART. XI.—THE SETTLEMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA - - - - -	544
1. Native Races and the War. By Mrs Josephine E. Butler. London: Gay and Bird, 1900.	
2. Vigilance Papers, 1 to 10. Cape Town: The South African Vigilance Committee, 1900.	
And other works.	
ART. XII.—MANDELL CREIGHTON - - - - -	584

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Art. I.—BRITISH AGRICULTURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1. *Reports of the first Board of Agriculture.* London: 1794–1815.
2. *The Farmer's Magazine.* Edinburgh: 1800, 1801.
3. *Transactions of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland.* Second and subsequent series. Edinburgh: 1828–1900.
4. *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England.* London: 1839–1899.
5. *English Agriculture in 1850–51.* By James Caird. London: Longmans, 1852.
6. *History of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland.* By Alexander Ramsay. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1879.
7. *Pioneers and Progress of English Farming.* By R. E. Prothero. London: Longmans, 1888.
8. *Wages in the United Kingdom in the Nineteenth Century.* By Arthur L. Bowley, M.A., F.S.S. Cambridge: University Press, 1900.
9. *Earnings of Agricultural Labourers.* Report to the Labour Department of the Board of Trade. By Wilson Fox, 1900. (C. 346.)

ARTICLE I.

THE distinguishing characteristic of the nineteenth century in relation to agriculture is that it was the first century in which science, to any considerable extent, was applied to practice. It would be too much to say that science was not applied at all in an earlier period, because, to a small extent, the sciences of mechanics, physiology, and botany had long contributed information respectively to inventors

drill husbandry from Lombardy, and brought out his famous horse-hoe; and Lord Townshend had popularised in Norfolk the four-course rotation, drilling, and horse-hoeing, setting an example which was slowly followed in other counties. There were many different drills in use, including the Northumberland drill, which sowed soot, lime, or ashes with turnip seed; and the Suffolk corn drill, then the best implement for cereals, as, with improvements, it remained during the greater portion of the succeeding century. Arthur Young gives a drawing of a drill used in Essex, which had coulter of the pattern reintroduced to this country as a novelty from the United States a few years ago, and now generally preferred to the cutting coulters which had superseded them for generations. Drilling, of course, was much less common than it is at present; and its advantage was a subject of warm controversy, particularly in relation to the sowing of corn. But even now there are parts of England in which the broadcasting of corn is generally practised in preference to drilling. The dibbling of corn was a method of sowing much in favour at the end of the eighteenth century, and for at least fifty years later. A report on Suffolk, written in 1797, says that the practice was only recently introduced. There are many farmers now living who had a good deal of corn and pulse dibbled in their early days of farming; and when corn was dear and labour cheap there was no more economical method of sowing. But when corn became cheap and the labour of women and children difficult to obtain, the practice became nearly extinct.

Many of the ploughs in use a hundred years ago were clumsy and of heavy draught; but most of them have held their own locally, with but slight modifications. In this connexion it is curious to notice an early anticipation of a modern invention. Before 1770, Mr Duckett, of Petersham, Surrey, had brought out a three-furrow plough, with which he turned up from three to four acres in a day, using four or five horses; while two-furrow ploughs were found by Young in several counties. Many living farmers can remember such ploughs being brought out afresh as complete novelties, though, like the inventions of Mr Duckett and others, they rapidly fell into disuse. An equally striking example of the kind of anticipation under notice is afforded by Young's illustrated description of another of Mr Duckett's

corn-feeding for any other animals than horses and pigs was uncommon. The use of malt dust as a fertiliser, put on in small quantities with a turnip and manure drill, indicated a lack of chemical knowledge. One operation, temporarily fertilising, but exhausting in the long run, was commonly practised at the time under notice, but has happily become almost extinct. This was the paring and burning of pasture land, which was denounced by the most enlightened agriculturists of the period.

In consequence mainly of the deficiency and inferiority of the manures used, the corn crops of the eighteenth century were certainly not usually equal to those grown in more recent times. The highest average yield of wheat given in any of the 'County Surveys' was Vancouver's estimate for Essex in 1794, namely, $24\frac{1}{2}$ bushels per acre, which Young endorsed a few years later. Essex at that time was, in Young's opinion, better farmed, on the whole, than any other county in England; and occasional yields up to 58 bushels per acre are mentioned as having been obtained. The average given above, however, compares ill with 29.7 bushels per acre as the ten years' average for Essex according to the agricultural returns for 1899. For Suffolk, also one of the best cultivated counties, Young, in 1797, estimated the average yields of corn at 22 bushels for wheat, 28 bushels for barley, and 32 to 34 bushels for oats; whereas the ten years' averages given for the same county by the present Board of Agriculture are a minute fraction under 29 bushels for wheat, 32 for barley, and $40\frac{3}{4}$ for oats. If, however, contemporary estimates are to be believed, there is one crop which has deteriorated in natural productiveness. There is no doubt that the potato has been weakened in constitution by prolonged reproduction from tubers; and it is to be borne in mind that the common disease of the present day was not known in this country till long after the beginning of the nineteenth century. Therefore it is quite credible that the crops grown with very little manure a hundred years ago were much heavier than they are under like circumstances now. Young mentions crops up to 700 bushels per acre, which, at 70 lb. per bushel—the weight which he gives for the old heaped measure—were equivalent to nearly 22 tons. This would be a wonderful crop in even the best potato districts of

middle of the eighteenth century, and still prevailed extensively at the end of that period. The reports to the Board of Agriculture on the counties of Scotland in 1794 and 1795 show that the in-field and out-field regulations pertaining to the open-field system were still common in some counties, and that great tracts of country were unfenced. Until the latter part of the eighteenth century agriculture in Scotland was far behind that of all but the most backward districts of England. Berwickshire, 'the cradle of Scottish husbandry,' led the march of improvement before 1750; but even in that county the general run of farmers were at first slow to follow the example of Lord Kames and other advanced agriculturists, though they made fairly rapid progress in the last quarter of the century.

The live stock of Great Britain, and particularly the cattle and sheep, had been greatly improved before the year 1800. Bakewell had improved the Longhorn, though not to much purpose, as it was doomed to be set aside generally in favour of the Shorthorn, known at the time as the Holderness, which the brothers Colling, then in the midst of their career, had taken in hand with good effect. The Tomkins family and others had done good work among the Herefords, and Francis Quartley with the Devons; while the Sussex cattle for beef, and the Norfolk and Suffolk polled cattle for the dairy, were accounted by Young as among the best varieties in the country. The Galloway and the Angus, however, though famous in Scotland, had not yet been strikingly improved by any particular breeder: Hugh Watson, the earliest of the great improvers of the latter breed—now developed into the Aberdeen-Angus—only began to farm land in 1808. Bakewell had earned immortal fame by his great transformation of the Leicester breed of sheep, while John Ellman, of Glynde, had done much for the Southdowns, and David Dun, in consequence of his efforts to improve the black-faced sheep, had been described as 'the Bakewell of Scotland.' Suffolk horses were famous as the best for the plough in Young's day, but no particular breeder's name stands forth pre-eminently as an improver of the animals. The Shire, as a distinct breed, was not in existence, though its progenitors, the heavy hairy-legged cart-horses of the Midlands and Lincolnshire, were famous, and the first of

classes of farming improvements in 1769. In 1798 the Smithfield Club was established. The first Board of Agriculture was formed in 1793, with Sir John Sinclair as president and Arthur Young as secretary.

The Board of Agriculture maintained its existence until 1822, but its usefulness was crippled throughout its existence by an insufficiency of funds, while its management, especially in its early years, was injudicious. Perhaps it is not too much to say that it did more for posterity than for the agriculturists of its own day; for its county surveys, good, bad, and indifferent, included some productions which are valuable historical records, with others that are simply misleading. These reports, so far as they were instructive to farmers, were prevented from being as useful as they might have been by the high prices at which they were published. They were noticed by the press, however, and excited a good deal of public controversy, which was beneficial. More good was done, perhaps, by the premiums offered by the Board for experiments, inventions, and essays, and more still by the engagement of Professor (afterwards Sir Humphry) Davy, to deliver lectures on agricultural chemistry. As professor of chemical agriculture to the Board, Davy delivered annual lectures for eleven years, from 1803 to 1813 inclusive, after which they were published in a volume.

The past century saw a great extension of the landlord and tenant system. The extinction of common rights in open fields and wastes began the process, and the steady absorption of the land of the yeomanry by the large proprietors went far towards completing it. The latter process had begun in 1795, especially near the manufacturing districts. Holt, in his report on Lancashire in that year, remarked that the yeomanry, formerly numerous and respectable, had greatly diminished in number of late, though they were not extinct. He added that the great wealth which neighbouring manufacturers had rapidly acquired had tempted the yeomen to invest their capital in trade and to place their children 'in the manufacturing line.' But in most other parts of England these influences did not operate, and the yeomanry continued to be a numerous class until the nineteenth century had well advanced. In Kent, for example, John Boys found them numerous in 1796, many of them being owners of large farms.

a depreciated currency, rose to extreme rates. Barley averaged 68s. 6d. in the first year of the nineteenth century, and this was its maximum. It had been only 26s. 3d. in 1790. Oats, like wheat, were highest in 1812, when they averaged 44s. 6d. per quarter, the average for barley being 66s. 9d. The fluctuations were enormous, the ranges of annual average in the first twelve years of the century being from 58s. 10d. to 126s. 6d. per quarter for wheat, from 25s. 4d. to 68s. 6d. for barley, and from 20s. 4d. to 44s. 6d. for oats. But the mean rates during the period were high enough to bring wealth to farmers, and to send rents up enormously. For example, the rental of the Northumberland agricultural estates of Greenwich Hospital rose from 6950*l.* in 1793–4 to 15,560*l.* in 1814–15, an advance of 124 per cent. The rental of agricultural land in Scotland rose from two millions sterling, in round numbers, in 1795, to five and a quarter millions in 1815. Although wages rose, the advance was not nearly sufficient to enable labourers and their families to subsist upon them, with the price of food so high as it was during this period; and thousands were kept from starvation only by a lavish outlay in poor relief, used by farmers, in effect, as part payment of wages. It is not surprising to learn, then, that the total burden of rates in England and Wales rose from 5,848,000*l.* in 1803 to 8,164,000*l.* in 1815.

The new duties on imports of wheat, imposed in 1804, had little to do with the high prices of corn. From 1791 to 1803 the duty was 6d. per quarter when wheat was 54s. or more in price, 2s. 6d. when it was between 54s. and 50s., and 24s. 3d. when it was below 50s. The tariff of 1804 made the rate 6d. per quarter on wheat at 66s. or more, 2s. 6d. when it was between 66s. and 63s., and 24s. 3d. when it was below 63s. But from 1805 to 1814 inclusive the price was not once as low as 66s., the range of annual averages having been from 74s. to 126s. 6d. It is strange indeed, that in 1813, the year after wheat had reached its highest average of 126s. 6d., it was deemed desirable to increase the duties on imports, charging 1s. per quarter at 80s., and higher rates on a sliding scale as prices decreased down to 64s., at which price the duty was 24s. In 1813 wheat averaged 109s. 9d. per quarter; barley, 58s. 6d.; and oats, 38s. 6d. But the next year brought a fall to 74s. 4d., 37s. 4d., and 25s. 8d. for the three kinds of grain respectively; and

gallon for bread and an allowance of 4s. a week to a man and his wife, with 1s. 6d. for each child up to eight children, making 16s. a week, the scale proceeds to show results for each penny advance in bread up to 2s. 6d. per gallon, at which price a man and wife received 8s. 6d. in poor relief and 3s. for each child, making 1l. 12s. 6d. a week for a couple with eight children. A foot-note directs overseers 'to attend to what an industrious family might earn, and not to what the idle and negligent do earn.' This scale was current in 1808, when wheat averaged 81s. 4d. per quarter; and, as has been shown, it rose much higher before the end of the war.

The great inducement to grow an extended acreage of corn, and to crop the land severely, during the period of high prices, made matters all the worse when prices fell. By 1821 wheat had dropped to the average of 56s. 1d. per quarter, while that of barley was only 26s. and that of oats 19s. 6d.; in 1822 the averages for the three kinds of corn were respectively 44s. 7d., 21s. 10d., and 18s. 1d., a good deal of wheat being sold as low as 40s. This was the beginning of a far worse period of distress than that which had prevailed in 1815 and a few succeeding years, great numbers of farmers being ruined. Select Committees sat in 1820, 1821, 1822, 1833, and 1836 to enquire into the distressed condition of the agricultural classes. The period was the most disastrous that those classes had ever endured. Rents and tithes were unpaid to a great extent, and many small landowners lost their estates by the foreclosure of mortgages, while shopkeepers and banks failed in considerable number. Riots and incendiarism once more became common. The price of wheat recovered after 1822. It remained over 52s. per quarter, and frequently rose to between 60s. and 70s., until 1834, when the average was only 46s. 2d., and in 1835 it dropped to 39s. 4d. Meat had been cheap while the general trade of the country was depressed. Rates had increased enormously, touching 20s. in the pound of assessment in some parishes. Alterations in the corn duties were of no avail to stave off the distress; and, although there were years of comparative recovery, when harvests were abundant or prices improved, no steady relief set in until the new Poor Law of 1834 had begun to work, and the commutation of tithes in 1836 had relieved farmers to some

(afterwards Earl of Leicester) was bringing his famous Holkham herd of the same breed, started in 1791, to a high degree of perfection, and persevering in his not very successful attempt to induce the Norfolk farmers to adopt it. The improvement of Scottish breeds of cattle was made manifest at the shows of the Highland Society, and the several breeds of sheep in England and Scotland alike continued to receive attention, while pigs began to be regarded more generally as worthy of careful breeding. The agricultural distress, indeed, affected the corn-growing far more seriously than the live-stock industry.

One of the most unfortunate results of the prolonged period of depression was the extinction of a large proportion of the yeomanry. These small landowners, in times of prosperity, had followed the lead of the men of many acres in living up to their means, and burthening their property with mortgages and annuities. When prices fell, they lacked the relief which tenant-farmers obtained in reductions of rent. The interest which they had to pay in the place of rent was demanded in full, and they were unable to meet this and other periodical payments. Consequently foreclosures became common among the yeomanry, and comparatively few of them survived the prolonged trial to which they were subjected.

Evidence brought before the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1836 was generally to the effect that farmers were in a state of great distress, paying rent and labour out of capital; and some witnesses described them as in a worse position than that which they had occupied in 1833, 1820, or 1818; while others declared, in reference to certain districts, that all the farmers who had no means apart from those of farming were practically insolvent. The condition of the labourers was said to be desperate. Some allowance may be made for the tendency of witnesses desiring to prove their case in favour of legislative relief or higher duties on imports; but at the time farmers were suffering particularly from a great drop in the price of wheat, which averaged only 39s. 4d. per quarter in 1835, the lowest price of the century, so far. In the following year there was an advance to 48s. 6d., and progressive rises in the three following years brought the price up to 70s. 8d. in 1839, after which the average continued above 50s. for nine years, sometimes

advanced to 237,393 tons. Nitrate of soda was used by a few farmers in 1850; but in 1853 only 10,000 tons of this manure and saltpetre, classed together in the trade returns of that year, were imported, whereas, by 1865, the quantity of the former alone had risen to 50,000 tons.

Agricultural education upon a popular scale was first introduced in Ireland in 1838, when the Glasnevin Institution was established to train national-school teachers in the principles of agriculture. This was the first institution of the kind founded in the United Kingdom, though the chair of Rural Economy had been established at Edinburgh University as early as 1790. Apparently the results of the Glasnevin experiment did not assume a definite form until shortly after the Irish Famine, in 1846-7, when agricultural classes were formed in elementary schools, only to fall speedily into disuse for lack of pupils. Glasnevin was reorganised in 1852, and new buildings were erected, with a model farm attached, named after Prince Albert, who took a great interest in the undertaking, which in course of time became successful. In 1845 the Royal Agricultural College at Cirencester was founded. The Chemical Department of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland was established in 1849, to investigate the chemistry of agriculture. The dissemination of agricultural information was rapidly extended by the numerous agricultural societies and farmers' clubs after 1837. While the societies, by their shows, developed a general appreciation of improved breeds of stock, and familiarised farmers at large with the best implements and other farm appliances, the clubs, by their papers and discussions, spread the knowledge of the few among the many.

The improvers of live stock, after the prolonged period of depression was ended, became too numerous to be mentioned. All classes of farm animals, in England and Scotland alike, received their share of attention. The early improvers of some breeds named already were still living long after 1837; and the Aberdeen-Angus cattle and Clydesdale horses had not long to wait. Hugh Watson and William McCombie were exhibiting the Angus beasts, which they helped to bring to the first rank among cattle for beef in 1842; and Clydesdales were noticed as specially meritorious in the official report of the Glasgow Show of the Highland Society in 1850.

dairy produce, as well as of those of corn, while wool had been down in value since 1847. The most interesting feature of Caird's 'English Agriculture in 1850-51' is the comparison which he draws between the existing circumstances of English agriculture and those of the days of Arthur Young, in whose footsteps to a great extent he travelled. He found the weekly wages of ordinary farm labourers averaging as little as 7s. in a few of the southern, eastern, and western counties, but much higher in the north, rising to 13s. 6d. in Lancashire. There are men still living whose ordinary weekly wages after they were married were only 7s. a week, and many who can remember the time of their boyhood, when wheaten bread was a rare luxury, and they subsisted chiefly upon black bread and rice. For the whole country Caird puts the average wage at 9s. 6d., which he had reckoned it to be in 1846, just before the Corn Laws were repealed. The extremes were 6s. in South Wilts and 15s. in one part of Lancashire. Dividing the country broadly into north and south, Caird puts the average wages at 11s. 6d. in the former division, and 8s. 5d. in the latter; whereas Young, in 1770, had estimated those of the former at 6s. 9d. and those of the latter at 7s. 6d. So far as the comparison can be relied on, it shows advances of 71 per cent. in the north, and of only a fraction over 12 per cent. in the south. It must be borne in mind that the wages given by Caird were those of day labourers, and that they did not include extra payments in money or in kind at harvest and other times. It may be taken for granted that there were more extras in 1850 than in 1770—in money at any rate. But still labourers were miserably paid in the southern two-thirds of England, though they were not in such dire poverty as they had been under Protection in 1840, when wages were no higher and flour was 2s. 6d. per stone. In 1850, flour was at 1s. 8d., while sugar and tea had fallen in price by one half.

Although, of course, Caird found that great improvements in agriculture had taken place since Young's time, he also noticed that a large proportion of the land was still undrained, and that there was a great deal of poor and slovenly farming. The rent of land, he reckons, had risen 100 per cent. since 1770, and the wages of farm labourers 34 per cent. on the average, whereas the yield

Art. II.—THE POEMS OF CRABBE.

1. *The Poetical Works of the Rev. George Crabbe, with his Letters and Journals, and his Life.* Edited by his son. Eight vols. London: John Murray, 1834.
2. *The Poems of George Crabbe.* A Selection. Arranged and edited by Bernard Holland. London: Edward Arnold, 1899.

THE neglect and forgetfulness into which the poems of Crabbe have been allowed to fall is not creditable to the present generation of English readers and critics. What does it mean? It will hardly do to assume that Crabbe has damned himself by inherent weakness and unreadableness. Critics who adopt that position will have to explain how it came to pass that he was a favourite author with a man of such vigorous intellect and independent judgment as the late Edward Fitzgerald; how it was that Burke, on the mere perusal of the manuscript of one of Crabbe's earliest poems, immediately recognised its author as a man worth helping, and was confirmed in his judgment by Johnson; how it was that in later years, and after the full development of his Crabbism, Byron should have held him worth such a compliment as the line—

‘ Though Nature's sternest painter, yet the best ’ ;

best, that is, among the ‘ noble poet's ’ contemporaries. Though some of his literary judgments can hardly be accepted now, Byron at all events was the last person to be taken in by poetry which was either merely sentimental or merely formal and prosaic.

A more probable cause of the barrier between him and the sympathies of the succeeding generations may be found in his general literary form and style. He was, in this respect, as one born out of due time—not too soon, but too late. Living and writing well into ‘ The Time of New Talk ’ of the post-Revolution period, producing his later works as the contemporary of Byron and Shelley—‘ *Tales of the Hall*,’ his most important production, was not published till 1819)—he nevertheless retained to the last the literary impress of the eighteenth century. He wrote all his tales in the rhymed couplet of the Pope school, the recurrent see-saw of which became distasteful

and character, his power of pathos and of satire. In some cases, indeed, Crabbe's dry humour seems to have been mistaken for stupidity. A critic in the 'Athenæum' once quoted, and quoted inaccurately, the couplet—

' And I was asked and authorised to go
To seek the firm of Clutterbuck and Co.'—

from Crabbe's most powerful poem, as an instance of his hopeless dulness of style; and even that pronounced Crabbite, Fitzgerald, made the same mistake, and proposed, as Mr Holland tells us, to amend it thus—

' And I was asked to set it right with—Oh,
Romantic title!—Clutterbuck and Co.'

Could neither of them see that Crabbe was perfectly conscious of the bathos of the vulgar name, and inserted it purposely for an effect of contrast?

Crabbe's literary defects (to dismiss them first) are no doubt obvious enough. Choosing the narrative form for his studies of human character and manners, he is apt to be prolix and flat, and to wander into unnecessary digressions, in those introductory or connecting passages which form the necessary scaffolding of a narrative poem; passages which at the best it is difficult to render effective in a literary sense, and in which he sometimes drops into a prim formality of diction which seems out of place in any versified writing, even in the structural portion of a narrative poem. It is in such passages that we feel his inferiority to Pope, whose every couplet has its point, while Crabbe is at times content, in transitional passages, if he is merely metrical and grammatical. On the other hand, he occasionally enlivens his narrative by a superficial play upon words, which recurs often enough to be called a mannerism, for instance, in the description of a village club:—

' We term it *Free-and-Easy*, and yet we
Find it no easy matter to be free.' *

* One may recall Pope's—

' And so obliging that he ne'er obliged ' ;

but in this case the viciousness and sting of the line may be held to raise it above mere word-play.

it entirely from the middle-class point of view. The reason for the limitation of view was in its nature the same in both cases; both writers were realists, and confined themselves to representing life as it had come under their own observation; and, after all, the middle-class standpoint may be said to afford a wider view than the standpoint of county society. Crabbe cannot be compared with Jane Austen as an artist; but he knew more of life than she knew; he had looked deeper into human nature; he was acquainted with grief, and possessed the power of keen pathos—a knowledge and a power which, so far as her writings show, were beyond Jane Austen's horizon.

Crabbe's early history, besides serving to explain the influences which gave his genius its peculiar bent, is of interest as giving us glimpses of a character of no ordinary force and individuality, apart from his literary gift. Nothing could have been more unpromising than his early prospects. 'His father employed him in the warehouse on the quay at Slaughden, in labours which he abhorred (though he in time became tolerably expert in them), such as piling up butter and cheese.' The profession of surgeon had been decided on for him, while he was yet at school; but after the term of his apprenticeship to a country surgeon was over, his father could neither afford to send him to London to complete his education, nor to maintain him at home in idleness, and he had for a time to return to his labours on the quay. A few months subsequently spent in London were partially wasted through want of funds to make the most of his opportunities; and when he eventually took up the practice of a country 'apothecary,' as the phrase then went, his mind was constantly tortured by the dread of a responsibility for which he did not feel prepared; nor were his prospects of an adequate practice in any case very promising. At length he resolved 'to go to London and venture all.'

With five pounds in his pocket he set out, to go through the 'trial of faith' (in Bunyan's phrase) which others have gone through before and since—the dreary round of offering manuscripts to one publisher after another, with results varying only between the refusal courteous and the refusal curt, while the day when the purse will be drawn blank looms nearer and nearer. Some little time before, Crabbe had been happily, though at the time rather hopelessly,

an unhappy one; . . . Can you, sir, in any degree, aid me with propriety?' It must have cost him a painful effort to write thus, for he was naturally of an exceedingly proud and independent spirit. But he had appealed to one of the only two prominent men of the day in London to whom an appeal from a struggling literary genius was not likely to be made in vain. Burke, who had much on his hands at the time, gave immediate attention to the poems enclosed, recognised their merit, sent for the author, recommended him to Dodsley the publisher, introduced him to Johnson, asked him on a lengthened visit to Beaconsfield, and, finding that Crabbe had fortunately received a better education than boys in his father's rank in life generally received in those days, and that he had a wish to enter the Church, used his influence with one of the episcopal sentries to get this irregularly-educated candidate for Holy Orders examined and duly ordained. The whole story is equally honourable to both the actors in it; the odd thing is that, while Burke's generous part in it is justly remembered and recorded to his credit, the author whom he thought it worth while to befriend in this manner has been nearly forgotten. Even Mr John Morley (from whom one might have expected better things), in his biographical study of Burke, whilst mentioning the incident to the credit of Burke's character, passes over the object of his generosity as a person of no consequence at all, merely observing, in reference to Crabbe's claim to assistance, 'I can hardly expect the reader to be acquainted with the "Parish Register"'—a sentence which shows that Mr Morley himself knew little of Crabbe's works, or he would have known that the 'Parish Register' was not written till many years later, and had nothing whatever to do with Burke's recognition of the poet.

Crabbe's first clerical appointment was as curate at Aldborough; and one can imagine how the natives, including his own father, must have been bewildered by the contrast between his position when he quitted them—an obscure youth, who was locally regarded as a failure, and his return as an ordained clergyman and an author of repute, the friend and correspondent of some of the most notable men of his day. But although he had made use of his literary genius as a lever to lift himself out of

His remembrance of his own mother's death probably permeated this passage. She was one of the old school of gentle evangelical saints, the best of whom, whatever we may think of their intellectual position, surely furnished one of the most beautiful types of womanly character on record. A touching little trait of her is recorded in the 'Life.' When she was sinking slowly under a lingering illness she enquired one morning after a neighbour who was also dying, and hearing that the latter still lived, said, 'She must make haste, or I shall be at rest before her.'

It was, however, in his later poems—the social sketches included under the general title 'The Borough,' and the stories included under that of 'Tales of the Hall'—that Crabbe showed his real powers in a series of studies of human character which constitute, in Matthew Arnold's phrase, 'a criticism of life.' Of the knowledge of human nature, the truth of observation, and the variety and piquancy of delineation of manners and character displayed in these poems of his maturer period, it would indeed be difficult to speak too highly. The literary weakness of diffuseness and digression in the structural portion of the narrative, already referred to, will no doubt be felt in many, though not in all of his poems, and may be attributed to the fact that, throughout his life, Crabbe (as already observed) wrote, so to speak, as an amateur. Primarily, he was a country clergyman, not an author; his writing was in the nature of an intellectual relaxation, prompted partly by the desire to put on record the impressions he had gained from a keen observation of life as it was lived around him. Had he made literature the business of his life, and subordinated everything else to it, he would probably have been led to bestow greater attention on concentration in style, and would have discovered that in poetry whatever is redundant is a positive mischief, and not a mere superfluity which can be ignored. On the other hand, he might not, in that case, have retained so completely one invaluable quality, which goes far to atone for a certain amount of slackness in literary style—his absolute and uncompromising sincerity. No one was more incapable of a false or affected sentiment; no poet was ever more free from the least suspicion of writing for effect, or of adopting a literary or a moral pose. And with this simplicity and directness of intention, his un-

The title of the poem 'The Borough,' published in 1809, promised at once a larger range of subject than the 'Parish Register,' and enabled the poet to group under one heading a whole series of sketches of men and manners—the various professions, the trustees and inmates of the almshouse, the clubs and social meetings of the place, in a series of 'Letters,' forming a complete microcosm of the life of a small seaport town. In his peroration he touches on his own position; the poet's study of life was not for gain; the interest of the study itself was its own reward:—

'For this the Poet looks the world around,
Where form and life and reasoning man are found;
He loves the mind in all its modes to trace,
And all the manners of the changing race;
Silent he walks the road of life along,
And views the aims of its tumultuous throng;
He finds what shapes the Proteus-passions take,
And what strange waste of life and joy they make.'

The poem, from beginning to end, illustrates the mental attitude here indicated. In actual life the author was the kindly friend and monitor of his parishioners; in thought he was among them, but not of them, seeing the whole curious little masquerade pass by him, half sad over its misdeeds or sorrows, half amused at its follies.

The 'Clubs and Social Meetings' are depicted with great vivacity; the description of the 'Club of Smokers,' with its sleepy conversation punctuated by the draw of the pipe, carries one back to the time when a smoker was more or less of an outlaw; the amenities of the whist club are still better. The section entitled 'The Almshouse and Trustees' supplies some of the most powerful and incisive portraits. Among the trustees was the great man of the place, Sir Denys Brand, a type of the social sultan, whose portrait is evidently finished *con amore*; who built the public Room, revived the races, instituted the lifeboat—'his were no vulgar charities'—and brow-beat the whole place, while keeping up a calculated ostentation of humility in his personal equipment. His scantily furnished private room contrasted effectively with the luxury of the servants' hall, and all the rest was in keeping:—

'An old brown pony 'twas his will to ride,
Who shuffled onward and from side to side';

And need and misery, vice and danger bind
In sad alliance each degraded mind.

That window view!—oiled paper and old glass
Stain the strong rays which, though impeded, pass,
And give a dusty warmth to that huge room,
The conquered sunshine's melancholy gloom;
When all those western rays, without so bright,
Within become a ghastly glimmering light,
As pale and faint upon the floor they fall,
Or feebly gleam on the opposing wall;
That floor, once oak, now pieced with fir unplanned,
Or where not pieced, in places bored and stained;
That wall, once whitened, now an odious sight,
Stain'd with all hues, except its ancient white;
The only door is fastened by a pin
Or stubborn bar, that none may hurry in;
For this poor room, like rooms of greater pride,
At times contains what prudent men would hide.

* * * * *

High hung at either end, and next the wall,
Two ancient mirrors show the forms of all,
In all their force—these aid them in their dress,
But with the good, the evils too express,
Doubling each look of care, each token of distress

The concluding line is surely a masterstroke of concentrated force.

The series of 'Tales,' not bound together by connexion with any special subject, which were published in 1812, includes, among some work of minor interest, two or three of Crabbe's most successful efforts. 'The Squire and the Priest,' though not in every respect one of the best, has special interest as illustrating Crabbe's unclerical impartiality. The story turns on the project of a coarse-minded old squire, tired of being preached at, to present to the living (in his own gift) a young relative whom he had educated into proper views, as he hoped, on the difference between the sins of the rich and those of the poor; and his dire disappointment when his *protégé* turned against him in the pulpit. There is a great deal of humour in the old gentleman's exposition of his system of religion and morals; in the account of the blundering penitence of his dull-headed bottle companion, and of the efforts of his 'kept lady' to improve the occasion from her own point of view. With such a subject, ~~there is~~ any other clerical

poet on record who would not have left the Christian minister triumphant? Crabbe knew life better:—

‘ James too has trouble—he divided sees
A parish once harmonious and at ease ;
With him united are the simply meek,
The warm, the sad, the nervous, and the weak.

* * * * *

He sighs to hear the jests his converts cause ;
He cannot give their erring zeal applause ;
But finds it inconsistent to condemn
The flights and follies he has nursed in them :
These, in opposing minds, contempt produce,
Or mirth occasion, or provoke abuse ;
On each momentous theme disgrace they bring,
And give to Scorn her poison and her sting.’

This passage, which concludes the poem, is a good example also of one literary merit of Crabbe’s—he never ends weakly ; he always has a terse and vigorous line to sum up and, as it were, clench the whole.

In ‘The Borough’ Crabbe had attempted to give a certain unity to the poem by professing to describe the personages of a single neighbourhood, with a sketch of the town as a background. In ‘Tales of the Hall,’ the latest work published during his lifetime, he sought the same end by another device, that of representing the tales as told between two half-brothers who, having been strangers for many years, meet at the country seat of the elder one, and exchange stories over their wine, or hear them from one or two friends and neighbours. This is slight enough as a narrative basis, but it serves its purpose ; the personality of the brothers, George and Richard, is sufficiently defined to give us an interest in them, while the stories of their respective love affairs form two of the best sections of the poem. ‘Tales of the Hall’ is undoubtedly Crabbe’s best work, and a remarkable production for a man of sixty-five who describes it (in the preface) as merely ‘the fruits of his leisure.’ His style is here more sustained and elevated than in most of his earlier works ; his interest in life is wider ; and he strikes deeper chords of feeling and passion than he had ever struck before.

There is only space here to indicate briefly the nature of the interest awakened by the various tales which make

the sum of the book, and the variety of characters and situations which it contains. 'Ruth' is the tragic story of a gentle girl who has loved too well and been deserted, but who has discernment and delicacy enough to feel that the loveless marriage which her parents would now force upon her is a prostitution of a far deeper dye than her first fault.

"A second time,"
Sighing she said, "shall I commit the crime,
And now untempted?"

and drowns herself in the sea rather than have the profanation forced upon her. The whole is in Crabbe's best manner, rising to a tragic ring at the close. 'The Preceptor Husband,' one of the best of the stories in Crabbe's lighter vein, relates the disillusionment of a man of learning who had been caught by an empty-headed girl with just wit enough to play up to him. The first waning of the honeymoon is touched off in one of those mischievous couplets in which Crabbe transfixes, at one thrust, a whole category of social or domestic shams:—

'Twas now no longer, "Just what you approve";
But "Let the wild fowl be to-day, my love."'

'The Bachelor's Story,' the autobiography of an elderly gentleman who had been shipwrecked in four successive attempts at matrimony, is one of Crabbe's finest efforts, half pathetic, half humorous, and rising to a noble strain of philosophic reflection at the close. A moral of another kind emerges from the next tale, 'Delay has Danger,' the story of a man, engaged to a gifted and superior girl, wrecking his whole happiness through the mere weakness of not being able to resist love-making to a pretty but commonplace lass with whom he was accidentally brought into contact. The account of the gradual progress of his infatuation, with the revulsion of feeling that followed the moment after he had committed himself irrevocably—

"I will," she softly whispered; but the roar
Of cannon would not strike his spirit more'—

and the blankness of all the world to him the morning after, should be read by all young men who are in danger

the history of a romantic and foolish passion, aroused by a girl whom he had casually met, whose surname even he did not know, and whom he lost sight of for years—a passion which preyed upon him and weakened his mind for any purpose in life, until in an equally casual way he met her again as somebody's cast-off mistress and the inmate of a disorderly lodging-house. The meeting is told in Crabbe's most incisive style. The narrator had been commissioned by the head of his firm to ask an explanation of another house as to an unsatisfactory document; he was too late to catch the principal partner, but was referred to an address where he might find him:—

‘I found, though not with ease, this private seat
Of soothing quiet, wisdom's still retreat.

* * * * *

The shutters half unclosed, the curtains fell
Half down, and rested on the window sill,
And thus, confusedly, made the room half visible.
Late as it was, the little parlour bore
Some tell-tale tokens of the night before;
There were strange sights and scents about the room,
Of food high-season'd, and of strong perfume;
Two unmatch'd sofas ample rents display'd,
Carpet and curtains were alike decay'd;
A large old mirror, with once gilded frame,
Reflected prints that I forbear to name,
Such as a youth might purchase—but, in truth,
Not a sedate or sober-minded youth:
The cinders yet were sleeping in the grate
Warm from the fire, continued large and late,
As left, by careless folk, in their neglected state;
The chairs in haste seem'd whirl'd about the room,
As when the sons of riot hurry home,
And leave the troubled place to solitude and gloom.’

The man of business was not forthcoming, but the lady lodger had heard the old name, and enters hurriedly, ‘speaking ere in sight’:—

‘But is it she? O! yes; the rose is dead,
All beauty, fragrance, freshness, glory fled:
But yet 'tis she—the same and not the same—
Who to my bower a heavenly being came;
Who waked my soul's first thought of real bliss,
Whom long I sought, and now I find her—this.

ence, are briefly but powerfully described in the remaining portion of the narrative, which the speaker sums up in the following lines :—

‘ Yet much is lost, and not yet much is found,
But what remains, I would believe, is sound ;
That first wild passion, that last mean desire,
Are felt no more ; but holier hopes require
A mind prepared and steady—my reform
Has fears like his, who, suffering in a storm,
Is on a rich but unknown country cast,
The future fearing, while he feels the past ;
But whose more cheerful mind, with hope imbued,
Sees through receding clouds the rising good.’

Although the human interest is always paramount with Crabbe, he has an eye to the scenic setting of his drama, and even where there is no lengthened or detailed description we seem to be conscious of the background. The influence of the flat dreary landscape of the Suffolk sea-coast, with its marshy tracts and its miles of shingle beach, seems indeed to have got into his blood, and colours his scenes almost unawares to the reader and perhaps to himself. Where he gives special attention to the landscape he is, as already observed, essentially a realist ; he brings it before us by a series of minute touches, as in the description of the fen country in ‘The Lover’s Journey,’ and the admirable painting of the melancholy morning landscape which Tennyson so much admired in ‘Delay has Danger.’ In less detailed descriptions he has nevertheless very real touches ; in the section on ‘Prisons’ in ‘The Borough,’ the walk through the lane and over the cliffs down to the bay is sketched so that we seem to accompany the party on their route ; in everything concerning the sea (for which he had a passion) he is truthful and observant ; we see on a calm hot day the

‘ Faint lazy waves o’er-creep the ridgy sand,
Or tap the tarry boat with gentle blow’ ;

the long stretch of coast ‘where all is pebbly length of shore’ ; the strong ebb-tide running out between the ‘stakes and seaweed withering on the mud,’

‘ And higher up, a ridge of all things base,
Which some strong tide has rolled upon the place.’

Occasionally, though rarely, he can give us one of those true poetic generalisations which seem to sum up the spirit of the scene in a single line, as in the calm where we see

‘Ships softly sinking in the sleepy sea,’

or the bright fresh incident in the morning scene in ‘Tales of the Hall,’

‘The morning breeze had urged the quickening mill’—

recalling one element of the picturesque which is now all but swept away from English landscape.

Reference ought to be made, before concluding, to three poems of Crabbe’s which are exceptional among his works both in form and feeling—‘Sir Eustace Grey,’ ‘The Hall of Justice,’ and ‘The World of Dreams,’; all comparatively early poems, in which a rather free stanza form takes the place of the rhymed couplet, and which contain passages of great power and pathos, though they are somewhat crude in form and expression. These are of special interest as indicating that Crabbe, had he devoted himself entirely to poetry, might have proved that he possessed higher imaginative power and greater versatility in literary handling than would be surmised from the realistic tendency and the uniformity of style which characterise the bulk of his poems. It is by these latter, however—by his studies of human nature, character, and passion, drawn from direct observation of life—that he is mainly to be judged; it is in these that his peculiar powers are displayed; and the reader will, we hope, admit that even the inadequate illustration furnished by the foregoing remarks and quotations is sufficient to justify the question already propounded—what have our literary critics been about, that they have suffered such a writer to drop into neglect and oblivion?

In conclusion, let it be added that we do not think any real good has been done for Crabbe’s reputation by the well-intended efforts of Fitzgerald and of Mr Holland to reintroduce him to the public by selections and extracts. Fitzgerald indeed took what, considering that he had a real and enthusiastic admiration for Crabbe, must be called the reprehensible course of partially re-writing and altering passages, to get rid of what he considered to be the

poet's defects. A poet, who is not worth retaining except in this left-handed fashion, had better be dropped. But we maintain that Crabbe's weaknesses, as regards their quantity at all events, have been greatly exaggerated. In Shelley's complete works, the proportion of writing which is not worthy of Shelley at his best is much greater than the proportion of Crabbe which is below his best; yet no one objects to a complete edition of Shelley. And in many cases a real injustice is done to the poet by divorcing his best passages from their surroundings. Mr Holland, for instance, gives as a separate short poem, under the title 'The Old Bachelor,' the noble concluding lines on old age from 'The Bachelor's Story' in 'Tales of the Hall.' Yet we venture to say that this passage, taken alone, does not produce half so strong an impression on the reader as it does when read as the climax and summing up of the whole poem. What we wish to see is a re-issue—with some emendations in respect of punctuation and misprints—of Murray's beautiful edition of 1834; and we are inclined to think that the time is ripe for it.

the Glasgow graduate, the eminently distinguished competitor for the Indian Civil Service, started on his career in the East not only with the usual ambitions, but in the spirit of the schools of Paris and of Bonn. He was irrepressibly sanguine, and at the same time emotional and susceptible; viewing human existence generally in its brightest and most favourable lights, and very desirous to make the best and the most of it. His own exceptionally busy and varied life offered in many departments abundant opportunities. Looking back upon it, we are inclined to judge that he availed himself of every chance and missed none of his openings. He loved to meet with men, he loved to read and write and think of men who had engrossed the literary or political stage, who had subjected to themselves a wide region of literature or of politics. To be counted among such men was in some sort his own aim. Nor need we hesitate to affirm that he has obtained a place of this kind for his memory.

If he was always imaginative, not less was he always industrious. If he enjoyed life and letters, and if in life and letters he enjoyed most the study of character and of personality, it was to life at the desk, to official work, to the sedulous comparison and computation of unadorned facts and figures that, for many years, he day by day not unwillingly devoted himself. Here peculiar facilities fell in his path and were seized upon. Here his skill was quite unprecedented, and so was his success. His fame rests, and will rest, on his toil rather as an editor than as an author, on his powers of organisation and of superintendence rather than on his own final and finished contributions to history and to biography. He exercised, and with wonderful mastery, a great command over able men and over vast materials. With regard to the history of British India, he has been the chief surveyor and 'prospector,' the chief road-maker, the chief contractor and employer of literary labour, the statistician-in-chief. His official and literary activity and influence in general, well worthy as they are of commentary, we cannot on this occasion discuss; what we have to consider is that incomplete summary and supplement to the rest of his work on which, during the last year or two of his life, he was engaged.

It is as though the author, even if not guessing that

among histories of European and, in particular, of English commerce with India. In spite of repetitions and dislocations, contradictions, over-hasty and over-bold generalisations and assumptions, our intrepid and indefatigable explorer has, in this his last literary campaign, entered upon and captured unoccupied and difficult territory, wherein he maintains, and is likely for the present to maintain, a species of sovereign title.

We have said that, especially in the first volume, the symptoms of haste were everywhere; and it is incumbent upon us to justify the criticism. Some of the leading aspects of Indo-Portuguese history are cleverly handled, but, on the whole, no comparison is admissible, with regard to their real value as an addition to our knowledge and insight, between Sir W. Hunter's Portuguese chapters and Mr R. S. Whiteway's almost exactly contemporary volume, 'The Rise of Portuguese Power in India.' What are we to think of Sir W. Hunter leaving in two places* his authorities unamended, so that, for all he tells us, we might suppose that Mohammed died and was buried not at Medina but at Mecca. As to his Dutch chapters we shall have to begin our remarks on them with considerable distrust of his argument and to end quite out of agreement with his conclusions. In our view he is here almost perversely wrong in his appreciation, and one or two examples will be enough to show how untrustworthy is his manner of citing and of co-ordinating and subordinating facts. He tells us† that the London merchants in Founders' Hall had before them, on September 22nd, 1599, three models, one being the semi-state pattern of the Dutch. But this semi-state pattern did not come into existence till the year 1602. Again he informs us that‡ 'the chances of the Company rose and fell with the fluctuations of parties, the older politicians like Burleigh being for peace.' The Company was founded December 31st, 1600. Lord Burghley departed this life August 4th, 1598. Once more he assures us that the smaller islands of the Banda group§ 'are not mentioned in Vivien de Saint-Martin's great 'Dictionary of Geography' (Paris, 1879). They are to be found enumerated in that work under the heading 'Banda,' and a second time under the heading 'Moluques.' As with regard to

* 'A History of British India,' i, 101, and 124, 5. † *Ibid.*, i, 236.

‡ *Ibid.*, i, 256 n.

§ *Ibid.*, i, 372 n.

Amsterdam. For a moment the Dutch were in despair. They recovered their equanimity, and they threw their whole strength for a hundred years into a course of unprecedented daring and almost fabulous prosperity. The earliest incidents are the following. In 1591, some English merchants sent out a tentative expedition to the East Indies. Between 1595 and 1600 the Netherlands merchants sent out larger and more fortunate fleets. Then, in 1600, the English East India Company secured its charter, and commenced its operations, with a capital of, say, 70,000*l.*, to be speedily overtaken and outstripped, in 1602, by the Dutch East India Company—the venture, so to speak, of a whole nation—with a capital of, say, 550,000*l.*

It was, accordingly, as an incident in the great war with Spain, on the Spanish seas, on the sea-frontiers, that this armed enterprise of the Dutch and English merchants and skippers began, this irregular advance, as of seafaring sharpshooters and squatters, apart from, to some extent, and independent of, the regular conduct of the war in Europe. The year in which the smaller Dutch companies were fused into the great Dutch East India Company had been already marked by fighting in the East Indies between Dutch and Spanish ships. The conflict had been not unlike that carried on in the Channel, fourteen years before, during the ‘Great Armada’ season. The triumph was immediately utilised for purposes of commerce and settlement. The Company stepped in. Trading stations were founded. The war, from the first, paid, and far more than paid, its expenses. Besides, the Dutch appeared at the outset, in the Indian Archipelago, as deliverers of the natives, as sworn opponents of the Portuguese and Spanish tyranny, in the guise—which in the East they soon lost—of champions of freedom. Jacob van Heemskerck, the noblest of the Dutch naval captains of those times, the Francis Drake of the Netherlands—who had braved every climate and conquered in every sea, who had spent a winter in Nova Zembla, and who was to meet his death at the moment of victory in a great battle in the Bay of Gibraltar—Jacob van Heemskerck distinguished himself, in this same first year of the Dutch Company’s undertakings, by seizing a splendid prize, a Portuguese carrack, at Malacca, and coasting in her as far as Macao. From Java the Dutch sailed to Banda, everywhere intent on making

treaties with the local potentates, which were to transfer the monopoly of trade from Portugal to Holland; while, at the same time, the Dutch met the natives on equal terms, professing, at all events at first, to have no intention of interfering with their religion, their customs, or their liberties. Indeed, the king of Acheen, or Sumatra, was invited to send a royal embassy to Holland, to inform himself as to the Western World, to assure himself of the feud between the Dutch and the Spaniards and Portuguese, and of the general revolt on the European seaboard against the theories and practices, ecclesiastical, civil, and mercantile, of Rome, Madrid, and Lisbon. Arrived in Europe, these envoys were presented to Prince Maurice in the lines before Grave at a conjuncture when the fortune and discipline of the Dutch army—and, not least, of the English contingent—had reached the highest point of fame, while their opponents were at the other extreme of military repute, disorderly and dispirited, and, to a large extent, in declared mutiny.

The whole Dutch community, firm after firm, city after city, province after province, embarked in the enterprise of the East India Company. It was a way of both beating the enemy and bettering the trade, of weakening war at close quarters while accomplishing distant conquests; it obtained immediately gigantic commercial returns; it opened out upon almost defenceless and unbounded tracts of sea and land. The Universal Dutch East India Company was a great national venture for a century—indeed, for centuries—in which the spirit of association passed from the States-General and the municipal councils to the ships, from port to port, animated the cabin and the factory, bound up the whole cause of the Netherlands with the acquisition and administration of one group after another of the islands of the East Indies. Three years, we may say, sufficed for the capture of the richest little cluster of colonies, the most compact and productive island realm on our planet. What had been the central mine of wealth in the King of Portugal's monopoly was now to be worked by, perhaps, the keenest, the shrewdest, the boldest, and, as it ere long became, the most grasping and the least scrupulous commercial confederacy Christendom has ever seen. Europe looked on amazed—here and there the old-fashioned Dutch citizen

must have shared with sad foreboding the amazement—at this state within and beyond the state, this republic within and beyond the republic, at this attempt to direct first a particular and then a universal commerce from the counting-houses of Amsterdam, at war waged explicitly for treasure, at treasure extorted methodically by war. Thus Holland passed into the room of Portugal, and with a wider and more vast, if a vaguer, a coarser, a more commonplace ambition. What Venice had been, when mistress of the Mediterranean waters, Holland became; what had been the maxims and measures of Venice became the maxims and measures of Holland, only more cynical and more cruel, in the Indian Archipelago. A great insular isolated colonial Power the Dutch gained, organised, and have maintained to this day. A great imperial policy they have never instituted; nor is anything more foreign to the Dutch national genius as such than the bare conception of such a policy.

There was this difference from the beginning, a difference strongly marked even in the first quarter of a century, in the history of the two companies, when militant Prince Maurice was Dutch Stadtholder and pacific James Stewart was English king. They died in the same year, 1625, within a month of each other. Prince Maurice, for all his forcefulness, could not keep in check his sea-captains in the East; King James, for all his flightiness, never let his London company slip out of his control. And James, here, was even willing to hazard much; he had a plan, from which we do not know that he ever quite receded, for amalgamating the Dutch and English companies.

It may be that, if the English had been able to displace the Dutch in the Spice Islands, they themselves might never have cared, in those regions towards which the Cape of Good Hope points and leads, for inland, continental, imperial sway. It is probable that, in such a case, the English would have been content to be merely in touch with sites like Sierra Leone, the Cape itself, Zanzibar, Aden, Ormuz, and Ceylon; naturally, what they would have most affected and preferred would have been a lordship of the isles. They would thus in time have dispossessed the French of Ile Dauphine, Ile de France, Ile de Bourbon—Madagascar, Mauritius, Réunion; they might have come into collision with Spain for the Philippines, and with

China for Formosa; they might have anglicised Japan. But the Indian Peninsula, especially as experiences in America grew monitory and menacing, we can imagine them anxious to leave alone, ready to resign. Think what might then have happened! The path of conquest might have lain open and unencumbered before a Dupleix and a Bussy; the French might have become, in politics and arms, as influential on the continent of Asia as on the continent of Europe—more revolutionary, more imperial. A Napoleon, for whom not only the revolutions of Paris and of Europe, but those of Bengal, of the Deccan, and of Delhi, had paved the way, might, indeed, have eclipsed Cæsar, and left to his marshals more to divide than Alexander left to the Diadochi.

As it was, the English had to retreat before the Dutch from the Malay Archipelago, and from the Spice Islands. Bit by bit the Dutch occupied the ground; over one island circle after another they established their authority. In proportion to their means, and judged at the moment of their ascendancy, the Dutch, as seafarers and as speculators, have never been surpassed. We have seen how, as against the English, they had gained, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as it were by only a few steps—a ship's length or two—precedence and predominance in the East, how they claimed and secured the richest market in the world, how they held the posts of advance towards further discoveries. Just as, three or four generations previously, the West Indies, the Bahamas, the Bermudas, Newfoundland, had guarded or revealed the approaches to one New World, so did the Spice Islands, the Moluccas, Japan, lie on the threshold to another. The progress would soon begin—and the Dutch would lead it—into Melanesia, into Polynesia, towards the colonisation of the Pacific. But here again the history of final settlement, the inland, continental, imperial history, was fated to belong not to the Dutch but to the English; the acknowledged capitals in the remoter future were to bear such names as Sydney, Adelaide, Melbourne, Hobart. The Dutch lived in the present—no nation, in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, so much and so successfully. And throughout the seventeenth century they pressed and pursued the speeding steps of fortune with the whole array of their national resources and reserves,

'Hora ruit' is said to have been the favourite motto of Grotius. 'Time flies; snatch the opportunity!' No motto would more appropriately explain the heat and hurry of the contemporaries and countrymen of Grotius, their irritability, their restlessness, their impetuosity, their recklessness in battle, their audacity in controversy, their impatience of contradiction, in Asia their barbarity towards the natives and their exhaustion of the soil, their fevered haste to get rich.

Here, for a moment or two, let us pass from the first quarter of the seventeenth to the first quarter of the eighteenth century, from the age of Elisabeth and James to the age of William III and Anne, and the accession of the House of Hanover. We shall thus dispense ourselves from returning again at any length to these parallels between the Dutch and the English. We shall also have passed from the situation as depicted by Sir W. Hunter at the end of his first to that left with us at the end of the second volume; and we shall have suggested the lines along which the rash and unchastened opinions of the former volume might be brought into harmony with the safer and more sober deductions of the latter.

Throughout the struggle for political liberty in the West, which we associate with the Reformation and the revival of learning, and which was hardly determined till somewhere about the year 1714, the Dutch and English fought mainly side by side. In the movement against the autocratic, the absolutist principle in Spain, at Rome, and, later, at Versailles, honours are divided between the Dutch and the English. But there is a further aspect, in which the history of the seventeenth century, both in the distant Eastern waters and in the narrow seas near home, is that of a close and strenuous opposition of Amsterdam and the Hague against London and Hampton Court. It is the history of the fluctuations between Dutch and English trade and policy and progress. There were possibilities of the balance inclining towards the United Provinces rather than towards the United Kingdom. This history, at its different stages, intensely and indeed surpassingly interesting as it is for our race, has been interpreted, not always quite in the same sense, during our Victorian era by very notable historians writing in our language—Froude, Motley, Carlyle, Macaulay, Seeley. No one has

reviewed it so dispassionately, no one has analysed it so minutely, as our greatest living historian, Dr Gardiner.

The reign of Elisabeth begins the period. She is at once the protectress of Dutch independence and the assertor of the liberties of England. The reign of William III, if it does not set a term, imparts its final bias to the period. He again is both champion of the freedom of the Netherlands and defender of the cause of the British Constitution and Parliament. His name, given to Fort William on the Hugli, as an English not as a Dutch citadel, might be taken to denote at once an Asiatic landmark, an unfurling of the flag of Greater Britain, and a great milestone in universal history. We may remind ourselves in passing that this very landmark was subsequently at a critical instant submerged, and that it was the genius of Clive that bade the waters subside. The same genius of Clive it was that checked a new advance of the Dutch up the Hugli and that compelled France's ultimate consent to the hegemony of England in India. But just now it is enough for us to keep our eye on William of Orange and his relation to Dutch and English policy. With his succession to the crown of England there came in a sort of recognition—tardily tendered in Europe, still more slowly to be admitted in Asia—on the part of Holland, of English political principles, their currency and their genuineness, their superiority, their supremacy, among the free States of the world. We might add that a somewhat similar acceptance Portugal had already signified.

And now the way is clear for us to examine, within the too confined limits our space imposes, the English movement, and to ask ourselves what was the character of such English expansion as can be said to have begun with and to have taken place under Queen Elisabeth and King James. We hold that, in universal history, this was for England the epoch of opportunity; and that, in English history, it was then that England was most self-conscious.

Here again our narrative must convey our verdict on the treatment in Sir W. Hunter's first volume of this part of our theme. We will quote but one specimen sentence of his (p. 351): 'The English company was the weakling child of the old age of Elisabeth and of the shifty policy of King James.' It seems to us impossible to misread and misrepresent more egregiously than is done in such a

sentence as this the whole tone and tenor of the age and its activity. Let us put over against this sentence from Sir W. Hunter another sentence from Dr Creighton: 'The days of Elisabeth were emphatically the days of the hard-headed and long-headed men'; and let us subjoin to this sentence, as an instance, the name of one who was born in the first year of Queen Elisabeth and died in the last year of King James, Sir Thomas Smith (1558-1625), the first Governor of the East India Company.

A charter had been granted, as we saw, to the London East India Company, under Elisabeth, at the very close of the century, on the 31st of December in the year 1600, and, under her, the first voyage had set forth. It came back into port under James. The venture is thus a legacy from the sixteenth century to the seventeenth, and towards the fabric which the latter century was to rear—a legacy from the policy of the Tudors to that of the Stewarts, from Elisabeth of England to James of Britain. It marks a continuous policy. One is apt to consider the reign of Queen Elisabeth too exclusively in relation to the dynasty of the Tudors, to bring her into comparison and contrast with Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Philip and Mary, and to make a break at her death; again one is apt to read the history of James I in the light, chiefly, of subsequent events, those of Charles I's reign, of the Commonwealth, and of the reigns of Charles II and James II. But there are points of view from which the reign of the last Tudor and that of the first Stewart are best studied together. Dr Prothero has seen this in his collection of statutes and documents, 1558 to 1625, and he says (p. xxi): 'In the history of the constitution no hard line can be drawn between the reigns of the last Tudor and the first Stewart.' If this is true of the history of the English constitution, it will be found to be also true of English foreign policy, of the history of English commerce and of the English colonies, of the history, in the main, of English thought and of the English conscience.

James, the conditionally disinherited son of Mary Stewart, was the heir, successor, and disciple of Elisabeth Tudor. He continues the Tudor, not the Stewart policy. So far as he founds a Stewart policy, it is not that of his son, or of his grandsons: it is that of his great grand-daughters. James I, Queen Mary, Queen Anne, each on his or her own

James's own reading of the drama of his own life and times. Shakespeare deals besides, as we know, with universal scenery, with an Italy, a France, a Greece, a Venice, a Vienna, partly of the past, partly of the present, partly of all time. He is himself part of universal literature ; but, above all, the master, the incomparable master, of our native language and of our national imagination. Is there any of our poets in whom the policy, the history, of England is more incorporate, to whom the English State is more present, alive, life-giving ? He belongs to the New World, also, which was being discovered in his day. He is aware of the greatness of the moment, but, further—and it is this we are trying to emphasise—of its dangers, its difficulties, its snares, its temptations. There is a caution about Shakespeare, as there is about Bacon, Hooker, and the Cecils. The leaders in literature, in science, in theology, in politics, of that critical and culminating age, all have a sense of its importance ; but they have, moreover, a very strong sense of the possibility and the peril of a false step.

It is scarcely more true of Elisabeth than of James, it is true equally of Elisabethan and Jacobean statesmen, that, at every step, what looks like uncertainty of vision and action is coupled with exercise of most intense watchfulness and calculation. For the matter of that, we meet it again under the Protectorate. However daring in ideas,* who more cautious in deeds than Cromwell ? That a great future was before the nation seem to have filled the imagination of people and of princes, the imagination of Elisabeth and James, the imagination of poets and philosophers, of diplomatists and divines, of the merchant, the soldier, the mariner. But in them all the sentiment was mixed ; there was anticipation and there was apprehension. The impediments in the way of England were great. There was an absolute want of allies. There was an absolute want of precedent. There was consciousness of a want of unanimity, of serious divisions at home. Something like what we call now-a-days the Expansion of England was expected.

* We regret not to be able to discuss at length Sir W. Hunter's very characteristic chapter on Cromwell, ii, 101-42. He has something of novelty to produce ; but, in order to exaggerate the discovery, how much has to be omitted or concealed ! To correct Sir W. Hunter's silence *vide* Gardiner, 'History of the Commonwealth,' ii, 339-76, particularly 350-2 ; Ranke, 'Engl. Gesch.' (1861), iii, 467-70 ; Seeley, 'Growth of British Policy, ii, 47-54.

The East India Company was founded on the last day of the sixteenth century, and we may consider it as the last great act of the Tudor dynasty. But the policy on which it sets the seal had accompanied the whole history of the Tudors; it is seen prominently throughout the second, and may easily be traced even in the first, half of the sixteenth century. As trade at home had grown up under the direction of the Guilds, and then, as cities and the capital became more and more important, had been regulated by the great Livery Companies, so was it found necessary, in view of the increase of foreign trade, to bring it, if it was to be carried on with any degree of safety and also of honesty, under the management of committees of able and leading and responsible merchants, and to connect these, by means of charters and the control which charters implied, with the Government and with the Sovereign.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, in 1505, under the first Tudor, Henry VII, the 'Merchant Adventurers' obtained their full and formal charter, though they themselves dated back their origin and activity, as an offshoot from the London guild of 'Mercers,' to the thirteenth century. To meet a typical 'Merchant Adventurer' and 'Mercer,' with whom to compare, from whom to derive the typical 'Cape Merchant'* and Chief Agent of the East India Company of later times, let us glance at the career of Sir Thomas Gresham. 'Statesman as well as merchant, half ambassador, half hawker,' a sort of 'consul-general' in the Low Countries and at Antwerp, with vaguely drawn and sometimes very widely interpreted functions, he became 'Royal Agent' and 'Queen's Factor'; he was Intelligencer to the English Government; he contracted loans in the Netherlands on behalf of the English Crown; he carried on a large private trade. Moreover, in his interest or in his pay he employed a considerable number of confidential scriveners and correspondents, engaged indifferently on financial experiments and diplomatic missions. In London he stood foremost among the city knights, founded Gresham College, planned and built the Royal Exchange. A detailed study of his life would show us

* 'Head merchant, an adaptation of some foreign title in *cap* or *capo*': vide 'New English Dictionary.'

the Dutch, with whom we were at peace. The defeat of the Invincible Armada in 1588 had taught our royal and our mercantile navies what they might dare; and the Dutch, manipulating the pepper trade, and increasing their Eastward sailing fleets, had touched our commercial pride.

It was a London company which thus launched out into the deep; a City company; in the main, a Puritan venture. It had its heart and hearth on the Thames; the energy of its head and hands was chiefly addressed to bringing respectably and honourably earned treasure thither. To mark the historical traditions it followed we might say they were those of a Gresham; to indicate the personal note in its directorate we might say it was guided by a Smith, by an Abbott, by the counsels of a Mun. It strove to be, and to keep, in touch with the Queen, and then with the King, and with their ministers; whenever necessary—though the necessity was urged and acknowledged as rarely as possible—its affairs were discussed as affairs of State; it was a part of what, with reference to Burghley and Salisbury and their school, we have seen styled the ‘Regnum Cecilianum’; its policy, if bold, was prudent; it was very ready, on the least occasion, to put as cautious, as pacific, as modest a cloak as possible on its proceedings. It was, at first, not so much national as somewhat specially and stringently metropolitan. It identified itself and its interests with the life of London. Till the winding-up of its affairs it continued the great controller of capital and employer of labour at the East End. It was not till after William III’s reign—till after all that jealousy, of which we spoke, between Amsterdam and London had died down—that ‘the Governor and Company of Merchants of *London* trading into the East Indies’ became, even in description, ‘the United Company of Merchants of *England* trading to the East Indies.’

It was no ‘weakling child’; its waking hours were full of vigilance and vigour; it had its dreams and it had its visions, to be more than fulfilled. Its foundation sums up the English life of the sixteenth century. Its charter is the last great privilege granted by Elisabeth, by the Tudors, to the Companies—the final document of the century. Her reign, her dynasty, are all but over. Her Charter to the East India Company marks the first great stride of London towards becoming the capital of the com-

strance;* then painting at full length such portraits as those of Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Maurice Abbott, Sir Dudley Carleton, Sir Dudley Digges, Mr Thomas Mun. He would show how the political pamphlet of the later seventeenth century was a child of the commercial and economic tract of the first decades of that century, and how this earlier literature centred round the earliest fortunes of the East India Company; he would connect the perseverance of the Company with the enthusiasm which still lives in the pages of Hakluyt and Purchas. After digressing on Persia, on Persian trade, on Sir Robert Sherley and his brothers in search of a creed, of credit, and of a court which should appreciate their English accommodation of the Spanish Don Quixote type, he would note how the history of the Virginia Company, and of the colonies in America, runs side by side with the history of the East India Company and its factories in Asia. He would piece out the fortunes of men like Lancaster and Middleton, Rastell and Kerridge, at one time agents of the Company in the East, and at another prominent on its councils at home as committee-men or directors. He would sketch the naval commanders, the next generation after Drake, Cavendish, and Frobisher, seamen experienced in many waters, in the Atlantic as well as the Pacific—a Best, a Pring, a Newport, a Downton; he would commemorate the great surveyors, the great commercial travellers and settlers for the Company, their journals, and their reports—an Aldworthe, a Courthope, a Methwold, a Gibson. Finally we would have our chronicler round off his record and legend of the whole century with many a picturesque touch out of the stories of what we might call the waifs and strays of the movement, from the ‘Odcombian leg-stretcher,’ Thomas Coryat, the contemporary of Sir Thomas Roe, to the ‘twenty years’ captive’ in Ceylon, Robert Knox,† the contemporary of Sir Josiah Child.

The ‘really great book’ that ‘might be written’—to borrow part of Sir W. Hunter’s suggestion—on the beginnings of the East India Company and the relation of those

* Calendar of State Papers, East Indies, 1617–1621,’ pp. 269, 70. And see Doyle, ‘English in America,’ p. 217, and Peckard, ‘Life of Ferrar,’ pp. 106, 7.

† The long-missing additional notes, written in later life by Knox on his adventures and experiences, have recently been discovered in the Bodleian, fol. A 623,

As Roe is the typical Anglo-Indian statesman of the first generation, so is Surat the typical factory, cradle of Anglo-Indian character, and nursery of Anglo-Indian commerce. Bantam looked forth towards altogether new departures and destinies; it might have caught up, almost prematurely, might have led astray, the spirit of English adventure among strange islands and into unknown seas. Surat lay on an ancient trade route between the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Gulf of Cambay. It could pick up, it could link into a new chain, an older mechanism. Surat and Jedda were the two ports of embarkation along a line of continual movement; Mecca was at one end, the goal of merchants and pilgrims, Agra at the other. The tone of the Surat settlement was Protestant and Puritan, corresponding to that of the party with which Leicester had been in sympathy, and then Essex, and to which Archbishop Abbott belonged; it partook of the grave and serious seventeenth-century vein—Jacobean, Caroline, Cromwellian; it is in kinship with this grave and serious country gentleman and London city magnate who directs affairs at Surat. Men like Sir George Oxinden and Mr Gerald Aungier are worthy contemporaries of Mr John Milton. John Milton was born in 1608; and that is the very year in which Captain Hawkins, with the *Hector*, being the first vessel of any English company to anchor in any port of the continent of India, arrived at Surat. Milton couples immediately the trade of the Persian Gulf with that of the coasts above and below the estuaries of the Indus—

‘the wealth of Ormuz, and of Ind,’

and this marks exactly the outlook of his age and that taken by the English factors at Surat. Thoughts reflecting abroad those which inspired Milton at home—for on the serenity and tolerance of Shakespeare had followed the scrupulosity and severity of Milton—of the duties rather than the delights, of the temptations incident to an ‘earthly paradise,’ may well have dominated this earliest Anglo-Indian society, ‘the President, and Council, and family’ at Surat. Its life was that of an extended domestic circle, of a concentrated guild, with its divisions or gradations, of senior and junior merchants, factors, writers, and apprentices. Its discipline reminds one of that of a college,

gaon or Masulipatam or Madras was best suited to be a place of arms and of stores from whence to control and command the traffic on the Eastern shores of the Indian peninsula. As in the first quarter of the century among the Spice Islands, so during the second quarter of the century on 'the Coast'—from Cape Comorin up towards the Ganges delta—the English factors, now advancing, now receding, had spied out the land, studied the temper of the inhabitants, sought a permanent and defensible foothold. Pathfinder-in-chief, and then successful city-planter—little else is known of him—was a Mr Francis Day. He helped to found the factory at Armagaon in 1625, he founded Madras, or Fort St George, in 1639, he revived the factory at Balasor in 1642.

To sum up the years, indeed the century, which ensued : through the whole period of the Long Parliament, of the Great Rebellion, of the Civil War, of the Restoration, of the Revolution, of the settlement of the succession, the government of the East India Company could not but shift a good deal away from exact dependence on, or clear subservience to, Leadenhall Street. Much had to be left, much was left, to the discretion of the agents abroad, at Surat, Bantam, and Masulipatam, and then, as later stations grew into importance, at Fort St George, or Bombay, or Kásimbázár. The Company needed all their craft to be able to transfer authority and to disclaim responsibility, were they to weather the times of Cromwell, of Charles II, of James II, of William III, of Anne, of the first two Georges. The seasons changed, as it were, and the dangers, with each new ruler ; but the dangers never diminished, and, though the storm-cloud veered from one point on the horizon to another, it never dispersed. In 1653, Fort St George became the seat of a Presidency. Mr Francis Day had handed on his gift for scrutiny and acquisition. We find the Presidency examining—at the moment negating—the practicability of an overland India trade right across country between Madras, Goa, and Surat. Always we have the outposts maintained, the approaches multiplied, in the direction of Bengal, of the delta and valley of the Ganges.

With the restoration of the Stewarts and the return, in 1660, of Charles II to Whitehall, there set in, along with the magnificence of a court modelled on that of Louis Quatorze, a steady revival of trade, a growing demand for

luxuries and curiosities, not least for the gems, the gauzes, and the spices of the East. Charles II and his brother took a keen interest in mercantile affairs. Their policy was propped on the secret alliance with France; they hoped to win personal popularity by offering every encouragement to the spread of distant colonies and conquests; it was their cue to proclaim against all comers and to assert at every opportunity their sovereignty of the seas. They desired to put an end to the power and the pretensions of the Dutch Republic, its theory of the state, and its organisation of commerce. Cromwell had been a kind of 'Stadtholder' in Britain, a Protector of the genius of a nation much after the Dutch pattern, a William the Silent on the most impressive and extensive scale. As we know, it was to be the fate of the whole system of the Stewarts to be ultimately recast by another 'Stadtholder,' the third William as stadtholder of Holland, the third William as king of England. Meanwhile, though there was a marriage in Charles II's reign of his niece the Duke of York's elder daughter with this very Prince of Orange—as there had been in Charles I's reign of the then Princess Mary with the then Prince William of Orange—the two Stewart brothers were in sentiment and sympathy absolutely and entirely anti-Dutch; and, with regard to business, if not with regard to politics and religion, they had the merchants of London with them. The final issues we have already hinted at. The principles of freedom, which after all were identical in Holland and in England, prevailed at Westminster, were recombined, assimilated afresh, were finally Englished and nationalised. There was a kind of momentary personal triumph of the Dutch, of the spirit of de Ruyter, of the policy of the House of Orange. On the other hand, the ordering and regulating of the commerce of the world passed from the United Provinces and from Amsterdam to the British Isles and to the City of London.

But we are hastening on too quickly to the close of the seventeenth century. Let us pause on some such date as the year 1674. The third quarter of the century has all but expired. It is the year of the peace between England and the States-General. It divides fairly well the reign of Charles II into two parts. Down to 1674 the history of foreign complications is what most interests

the student of the reign; from 1674 onwards the history of the reign is that of plot and counterplot at home, with regard to the succession, and with regard to the controversies of the creeds. In 1674, moreover, Pondicherry was founded, and French rivalry came definitely into view on 'the Coast'; as, a couple of years later, the founding of the French settlement of Chandarnagar disclosed it on the Hugli and in 'the Bay.' It is in the year 1674 that Josiah Child first becomes a director of the East India Company. It is the year in which Thomas Pitt is first mentioned as an interloper. Child, afterwards Sir Josiah Child, baronet, inspired the councils of the Company at home till the end of the century. He died in 1699. At the end of the century Thomas Pitt was governor at Fort St George. He was still governor when his grandson William Pitt—the first Earl of Chatham—was born. The 'tales of a grandfather' which the Great Commoner might remember would be tales of adventurous voyages in the Persian Gulf and in the Bay of Bengal, of the 'Pitt' diamond, of the siege of Madras by Daoud Khan, of the campaigns of Aurangzeb. The career of Clive—which again and again commenced and recommenced from Fort St George—must have had a quite peculiar interest for William Pitt. The year 1674 marks, further, a very large increase in the shipping and stock sent out from England as the nucleus of the commerce with Asia. The merchants and factors abroad were made aware that capital and intelligence at home were engaged as never before in the affairs of India. We note the question arising in 1676 as to whether the trade with Persia could be most effectively re-established by the employment of force or by treaty. In 1676 the Surat Presidency was still in favour of pacific measures. But nine years later, when a similar question arose with regard to outlying provinces of the Mogul's dominion, the Bay of Cambay and the Bay of Bengal, the verdict was for open war. That is the year 1685, in which James II came to the throne, in which Sir John Child, Sir Josiah's brother, was made a baronet, and was in authority at Surat, or rather at Bombay—for that is the moment, too, when Bombay, instead of Surat, became the seat of the Western Presidency, to be for a while indeed factory and fortress-in-chief of the whole English adventure in India.

Art. IV.—THE VICTORIAN STAGE.

1. *The Drama of Yesterday and To-day*. By Clement Scott. Two vols. London : Macmillan, 1899.
2. *Dramatic Criticism*. By J. T. Grein. London : John Long, 1899.
3. *Nights at the Play*. By Dutton Cook. Two vols. London : Chatto and Windus, 1883.
4. *Some Notable Hamlets of the Present Time*. By Clement Scott. London : Greening, 1900.
5. *Helena Faucit (Lady Martin)*. By Sir Theodore Martin. Edinburgh and London : Blackwood, 1900.

A RETROSPECT of the English drama from the accession of Queen Victoria to the present time, aiming at a complete record of the various changes in taste and manners which society has undergone during so long an interval, and gauging the fidelity with which they have been reflected on the stage, would, it is needless to say, require a volume to itself, and one very different from any of those which stand at the head of this article. Even a much less ambitious attempt, confined to a criticism of all the best-known plays and most popular actors of the Victorian era, would be entirely beyond the scope of a Quarterly Review article. All that we propose on the present occasion is to note some of the salient points which the retrospect presents, some of the leading contrasts which it affords between the middle and the close of the Victorian era, and some of the comparisons which it suggests between the comedy of the nineteenth and the comedy of the eighteenth century.

The Victorian period of the drama divides itself into two parts, which, though they run into each other, have sufficiently distinct characteristics. Sixty years ago we find the 'legitimate drama' struggling to hold its own against opera, burlesque, and melodrama. Some good pieces were produced, but they did not represent the real life of the period, or 'take' with society as the new drama has taken. 'London Assurance' is a conspicuous example of this defect, and betrays a total absence of that social knowledge which the author, when it was written, had enjoyed few opportunities of acquiring. The talk of the servants is even more absurd than it is in Sheridan's plays,

Cibber, and others of that era, we shall see at once they are meant for pictures of real life, and as long as they continued to be so society went to look at itself through the dramatic mirror. If we can trust the novels of that day, if we can trust the modern imitations of them, such as 'Esmond' and the 'Virginians,' if we can trust the evidence of the Essayists, from Steele and Addison down to Mackenzie and Cumberland, the stage in their day really was a reflection of living manners, of what one might see or hear in the 'gilded saloons,' in the clubs, and in all places of public amusement frequented by the best society. It was easy, says Mackenzie in 'The Lounger' (1786), for a clever actor so to play the hero of a comedy as to make young people confound the copy with the original, and suppose that a real gentleman was the same kind of man as the fictitious one: and therefore the immoral hero had a bad effect. But he could not do this equally with the hero of tragedy. It is clear, therefore, that the eighteenth-century comedies were meant to reproduce upon the stage the life of the boudoir and the ball-room, and that they did to a great extent succeed. As it became more difficult to do this, as there were fewer salient points on which the actor could depend, as the gap between life on the stage and life off it became wider and more apparent, English comedy began to decline, with the result which we have already noticed.

Webster's offer of five hundred pounds in 1843 for the best comedy of 'high life' shows that he felt, at least, the want of something different from 'London Assurance,' which came out in 1841. The prize was awarded to Mrs Gore, for a comedy entitled 'Quid pro Quo,' which was acted at the Haymarket in 1844. Mrs Nisbet, Mrs Glover, and Buckstone were all in the cast, and they all did their best. But 'Quid pro Quo' was not likely to succeed where 'London Assurance' failed. The champion destined to awaken the sleeping beauty was not yet found. Something very much better was required to bring back the world of fashion to the stalls and boxes. On this point we have the testimony of Mrs Gore herself. In her preface to 'Quid pro Quo' she says:—

'Were the boxes often filled, as I had the gratification of seeing them for the first representation of "Quid pro Quo," with those aristocratic and literary classes of the community

interval we have returned to the methods of what many critics still consider the most brilliant days of British comedy; and a very important question which we have to ask is whether our dramatic authors are succeeding in the task which they have set themselves. We may ask this question with regard to both authors and performers; and—to take the latter first—if it is no longer so easy to counterfeit the character of a lady or gentleman on the stage as it was when costume was more marked and manners more formal than they are now, nevertheless it may be granted at once that such parts are usually very well filled at our best theatres. This appears to be, partly at least, owing to a cause with which some leading theatrical critics cannot be sufficiently angry. Mr Clement Scott, for instance, complains that the old-fashioned hard-working conscientious actor, full of stage traditions,* devoted to his profession, and caring nothing for social recognition, is thrust to the wall by sprigs of aristocracy and ‘society schoolgirls’ who neither possess any natural aptitude for the stage nor take the trouble to acquire it. Really finished acting is therefore, we are told, in danger of extinction. But is such the impression left upon one’s mind after witnessing such plays as ‘The Liars,’ or ‘The Squire of Dames,’ or ‘The Passport,’ or ‘Liberty Hall,’ or ‘The Fool’s Paradise,’ or ‘Lady Ursula’? As to the truth of these dramas we shall have a word to say presently. But surely the acting, if in some cases it lacked power, seldom or never lacked finish. The fact that so many ladies and gentlemen have found room for themselves upon the stage is due, among other causes, to the change in manners which we have already mentioned. It shows that they were wanted. The supply has followed the demand; and in the plays that we have ourselves witnessed we see no signs of that crudeness and carelessness which Mr Scott denounces when he enlarges on the superiority of the old school of actors and the laborious study which produced it.

It is moreover to be remembered that what is complained of as injurious to the English stage has also its good side. The change in question has tended to raise

* Sir Theodore thinks that Helena Faucit’s early success was partly due to her ignorance of stage traditions.

anything resembling passion, that no harm is done. There is no suggestiveness, no implied recognition of vice as a matter of course. The whole thing is a caricature.

It is very different with some modern plays, the chief interest of which is made to consist in bringing the two worlds, the *monde* and the *demi-monde*, into as close juxtaposition as possible, and even in blurring the lines by which they are separated from each other. We are told that the popularity of such plays is due to the fact that they do really represent a corresponding deterioration in the tone of English society and the moral standards which govern it; and that in this one respect, at all events, they reproduce the very form and fashion of the time. In two books which have lately been published by authors of repute, to whom the doors of society are open, we find this deterioration deplored as an acknowledged fact. The Warden of Merton, who may be supposed to write with knowledge, says in his 'Reminiscences' that there is, he fears, an inner circle of the fashionable world in which much is habitually said and done which in the earlier Victorian era was a comparatively rare exception, even in the gayest society; and Mr Lilly, in his recently published volume, 'First Principles in Politics,' tells us still more confidently that 'one of the notes of the age is a pronounced laxity of practice—and, what is worse, of theory—about sexual matters.' What weight is to be attached to the gossip of club smoking-rooms is, of course, a matter of opinion. But the fact remains that 'society' lends a favourable ear to such plays as 'The Second Mrs Tanqueray,' 'The Gay Lord Quex,' and 'The Profligate'; and that, if some ladies of fashion hesitate to let their daughters see them, many do not. Now if what Mr Brodrick and Mr Lilly assert is really true, we must not suppose that it is the licence of the stage that has led to the corruption of manners, but rather the corruption of manners which has encouraged the licence of the stage.

If there is any truth in the above remarks, it would seem that the palmy days of pure comedy must be looked for in the past; and the gradual encroachment of the novel on the province of the drama points the same way. The fact is, every kind of comedy, be it of intrigue or character, must of necessity be more or less the comedy of manners, dependent, that is, on the aspects and the con-

so as Charles Torrens in 'London Assurance.' The 'man about town,' living in chambers in the Temple, writing a smart magazine article when he is in the humour, for which he is paid enormous sums, constantly receiving letters from the editor of the 'Times' begging for a leader on the question of the day, deeply in debt—this is an essential feature of the character—member of a fashionable club, with the *entrée* to all the green-rooms in London—this is the ideal hero of many a young man on first leaving college, though it is needless to say that he exists only in the imagination of such as have no other sources of information. These aspirations have been the ruin of many a clever fellow who but for this silly vanity might have been a respectable member of society, and died a county-court judge. We need not detain the reader any longer over what are known as 'the Caste plays.' Aided by some of the most skilful and gentlemanly actors and one of the most bewitching actresses of our time, they undoubtedly hit the public taste, and 'caught on.' Their realism we suppose was their novelty; they showed the public on the stage what they could see at home, and to appetites jaded with the traditional heroes and heroines, the plots and contrivances of the earlier and mid-century comedy, they came as a refreshing change.

We now turn to Mr Pinero. The worshippers of Robertson say that had there been no Robertson there would have been no Pinero. But Robertson and Ibsen have both gone to the formation of Mr Pinero as we now know him. If Robertson discarded one stage convention, Ibsen, we are assured, discarded another. If Robertson made the drama more natural and simple, Ibsen, we are told, made it still more real by a larger admixture of vice and misery. He banished from his stage 'the trickery of happy endings,' which long tradition had raised to the rank of a principle. At this point, then, we are confronted by two questions: what is the end of comedy; and, secondly, if we determine that our play shall not end happily, by what necessary process is our end to be attained? Those who object so strongly to the conventional happy ending seem sometimes to forget that comedy is concerned only with one aspect of human life; that it is a species of satire directed not against crime but folly; and that to introduce into it the machinery which we associate

They should have indulged in one last embrace and then torn themselves asunder. The knowledge that they were destined to pine away in secret for years to come could not have failed to be highly gratifying to all those cheerful playgoers who agree with Mrs Gamp that life is a 'wale.'

It is not easy to see why a bad ending is more like real life than a good one. People do get into scrapes and get out of them again every day; they even make love to other men's wives without anybody being consigned to hopeless wretchedness. We do not suppose that Mr Sullen broke his heart when his wife went off with Aimwell. The novelist or dramatist who first hangs his characters 'up a tree' and then cuts them down before they are quite gone is guilty in the eyes of Ibsen and his school of a vulgar weakness. It may be so; but it seems to us that the universal craving for 'happy endings' is something like a proof that they cannot be so unreal as the new school represent them to be. There are of course bad endings to equivocal complications in real life, but it is not the part of pure comedy to deal with these; and if we take the mixed drama in which tragedy and comedy are combined, it will not seldom be found that both have been spoiled. There is not room for both even in a five-act play.

The Victorian drama has not been rich in tragedy, and what we have to say on this subject had better be deferred till we come to our actors and actresses; but it shines greatly in farce, burlesque, and melodrama. To attempt to pick and choose out of the legion of plays over which three generations have split their sides would be a hopeless task. They all have this in common, that they depend even more than modern comedy does on particular individuals. 'Box and Cox' was nothing without Buckstone. 'Parents and Guardians' was nothing without the Keeleys. The Adelphi farce was nothing without Wright and Paul Bedford. These were actors whose entrance on the stage, before they had spoken a word, was the signal for a general titter; their faces were simply irresistible; and it was only necessary for them to open their lips for that titter to become a roar. It did not matter what they said, and they indulged freely in gag. We doubt if there is anything on the stage now, unless it is 'Charley's Aunt,' quite equal to the farces which filled the London theatres

last fifty years ; and we hardly know whether to give the second to Fechter or to Lady Martin. In the banquet scene in ' Macbeth ' she rose to the summit of her noble art.

We shall wound no susceptibilities, we hope, if we add that Miss Ellen Terry is better fitted for Beatrice, Rosalind (which, however, she has never played), or Juliet than for Ophelia or Desdemona. Her personal charms, her animal spirits, her girlish gaiety, maintained to the last, and her clever assumption of characters which really suit her, have made her decidedly the reigning favourite of the last thirty years ; and she is probably, take her all round, the most popular actress of the Victorian age. We cannot honestly say she is the best, but she and Sir Henry Irving will always be remembered, with Phelps and Mrs Warner, and with Charles Kean and Mrs Kean, as the leading dramatic revivalists of the last half-century. Their efforts have been attended with varying degrees of success ; but there is no doubt that they have contributed greatly to that restoration of the stage to the favour of the higher classes in which the Kendals, the Bancrofts, the Hares, Wyndhams, and Alexanders, with such actresses as Mary Moore, Marion Terry, Gertrude Kingston, Winifred Emery, Mrs Patrick Campbell, Miss Millard, and Miss Olga Nethersole have also had a large share. Charles Kean's Shakespearean revivals at the Princess's were chiefly remarkable for their scenic effects. Kean himself was a gentlemanly actor in the higher comedy, but his wife was the favourite. Her Viola in ' Twelfth Night ' was a treat not to be forgotten.

Among recent attempts to revive the Shakespearean drama, that of Mr F. R. Benson deserves notice, not so much for any unusual merit in the acting, as for a certain originality in methods and aims. Many actors have brought out isolated plays of Shakespeare with more or less success : Mr Benson has made it his business to produce him continually. Most managers who have sought to popularise the great dramatist have relied chiefly on splendid scenic effects, and an almost pedantic accuracy in costume and decorative details : Mr Benson's object is to show, in the words of one of his critics, ' that Shakespeare can be played for Shakespeare's sake.' When a piece is placed on the stage in such a way as to distract attention from the picture to the frame, no honour is done either to author or actor. Mr Benson's presentations are a pro-

tion. Varius, himself an excellent and admired poet, also wrote his friend's 'Life.' He wrote with full knowledge of the persons and the facts while most of the persons were still living and the facts were still fresh. His memoir contained, we have reason to believe, a full and sufficient account of the poet, of his life and work, his education and friendships, his habits of composition, personal traits, anecdotes, table-talk, good stories, perhaps scandals, *obiter dicta*, and the like, together with illustrative extracts from the poet's poems, whether published or unpublished, and from his correspondence, both his own letters and those of friends. When it was written, many of the documents on which it was based, such as the letters of the Emperor, like those of the Queen to Tennyson, were in evidence, and remained so long after. It would have been impossible to make any serious misstatement which many living friends could correct, or which could be contradicted by reference to documents undoubtedly authentic, or to interpolate any poem or portion of a poem as Virgil's without authority.

On this 'Life' by Varius, and on the authorised edition or editions of his poems, it is pretty clear that the later authorities rested, as long as any serious and strong critical spirit remained. The best that we now have is a fairly long sketch, probably by Suetonius, much in the nature of a 'Dictionary of Biography' article. This no doubt is a reduction from the 'Life' by Varius, but has been again added to and embroidered from other less excellent sources. In Virgil's case, as in most others, there were current, immediately after his death, and perhaps even during his lifetime, conflicting texts and semi-authenticated stories, and some of these doubtless established themselves in lieu of, or side by side with, the genuine; but without entering into the minutiae of discrimination, it may be said that we possess a considerable body of information about Virgil, and that when due allowance has been made for such accretions, a great deal remains, well attested or carrying its own claim to credence. We know more, probably, about the life of Virgil than we do about the life of Shakespeare. To state this may not indeed be to state very much. The late Master of Balliol, whose historical scepticism knew hardly any limit, was fond of saying that all that we really know about Shakespeare's life could be

in, the admission of many to civic privileges previously confined to a few, and the extension to wide regions of as much of self-government as was possible without a representative system. Both poets, then, were born and grew up in times of 'storm and stress.' Both witnessed in their own day an immense expansion—the one a city, the other a kingdom outgrowing its ancient bounds; each saw the establishment, amid battle and throes, of a world-wide empire. Events moved more slowly in the later case; and thus, if Tennyson lived longer, he saw less, rather than more, political change, for the thirty or thirty-five additional years of his life were needed to complete the revolution begun in his boyhood.

Virgil was born in 70 B.C. His birth-year, the year of the consulship of Pompey and Crassus, may be taken as the beginning of the Roman revolution, for it was this consulship that began, by the restoration of the Tribune, to undo the work of Sulla, while the memorable impeachment of Verres by Cicero was, if not the first, at least a signal recognition of the provincial empire of Rome. Virgil's boyhood and youth, then, were full of disturbance at home and abroad. The great campaigns of Pompey and of Cæsar shook alike the eastern and the western world, from his fifth to his twentieth year. He was a child of seven in the year of Catiline's famous conspiracy; then followed the long ignoble brawls and street-fights, of which those of Clodius and Milo were only the most notorious. He came of age in the Roman sense in the year of the first invasion of Britain. He was twenty-one when Cæsar crossed the Rubicon, twenty-six when Cæsar fell by the dagger of Brutus, thirty-nine when the battle of Actium once more brought a settlement into view.

Tennyson in like manner was born in the last years of a narrow oligarchy, when gigantic wars abroad were reacting upon a state of unstable equilibrium at home. His birthday fell amid the opening conflicts of the Peninsular campaign, and in the year in which Sir Francis Burdett introduced his first motion for a reform of the House of Commons. The effect of the struggle with Napoleon was for a time to retard the disintegration of the English oligarchy. But, Waterloo over, and peace restored, the movement soon began once more, and indeed was fomented by the distress consequent on the long and wasting war.

of Tennyson, which made them both such happily loyal, because such sincerely and spontaneously loyal, laureates, the one of Augustus, the other of Victoria.

Both were children of the country, and of the real unsophisticated country. Tennyson was born in the sequestered hamlet of Somersby, in Lincolnshire; Virgil's birth-place was also a hamlet, that of Andes—for such is its strange name—perhaps the modern Pietola, a little way out of Mantua. Mantua itself was no large town, and Andes, whether three or seventeen miles away—for this is disputed—must have been thoroughly rural. In birth Tennyson had the advantage. His father, though disinherited in favour of a younger brother, was the eldest son in a good family, and was a beneficed clergyman and a Doctor of Laws of Cambridge. His mother, too, came of a good county stock. Virgil's father, on the other hand, would appear to have been a hired servant to one Magius, a carrier or courier, perhaps himself in addition a working potter, who by industry amassed a little property for himself, which he increased by keeping bees and buying up tracts of woodland, and then, like the industrious apprentice, marrying his master's daughter, whose name, *Magia*, or *Magia Polla*, may perhaps have given rise to the later idea that Virgil was a wizard.

Both, then, were brought up face to face with nature, with the country, and with country folks and ways. A very good critic of Tennyson once made the pertinent remark that he was a poet of the country in a sense even beyond that of ordinary lovers and students of nature; that he was the only great poet who, if he saw a turnip-field, could tell with a farmer's eye how the turnips were doing. The 'Georgics' were written no doubt from a similar or even greater personal knowledge. So probably was the famous picture of the 'Corycius senex,' the old gardener amid his roses and his cucumbers, with whom perhaps may be compared the two 'Northern Farmers.'

Both, however, while brought up in the depths of the country, had as good an education as the time could give. Tennyson was sent first to Louth Grammar School, then to Trinity College in Cambridge. Virgil went to school, first at Cremona, then at fifteen to Milan—some say also to Naples to learn Greek with Parthenius—and finally at seventeen was entrusted to the best teachers at Rome.

Virgil's Byron and Coleridge were Catullus and Lucretius. Among his minor youthful pieces are several in the Catullian vein. One, which is an obvious parody of Catullus, seems again to contain a reminiscence of Virgil's home and early days. It is a poem on an old muleteer, turned schoolmaster and town-councillor, who, in lines which are a travesty of Catullus' well known stanzas on his old yacht, boasts his own former prowess and dedicates himself to Castor and Pollux, the traveller's gods. Catullus belonged to the literary generation just before Virgil; his brief and brilliant literary career was at its height in Virgil's early years. It was natural that he should exercise a strong influence over the poets of the next era; and indeed it is clear that he did set or lead a fashion, to which Virgil and perhaps Horace also—though, if so, he afterwards resented it—yielded in their youth. Catullus died when Virgil was twenty-three; whether they ever met we do not know; it may be remembered, however, that both came from Lombardy. Artistically, they had much in common—for Virgil, like Catullus, belonged to the Alexandrine school—and they enjoyed many common friends. Just as Tennyson was linked to Byron, whom he never saw, by Rogers and Leigh Hunt, so Virgil was linked to Catullus by men like Pollio and Cinna.

Some other minor pieces attributed to Virgil are extant, less creditable followings of the Catullian fashion; but it is not certain that Virgil wrote them, and they are hardly consonant with the character with which, as will be seen later, his youth was credited. Tennyson had also his period of youthful heat and trial, but he passed through it well. He uttered nothing base, and hardly anything bitter. In one or two pieces he just showed what he could have done in the mordant and satiric vein had he wished. Such a piece is the spirited and gay repartee—a 'silly squib' he called it himself—to 'Crusty Christopher,' the dogmatic and heavy-handed Professor Wilson; while the lines on Sir E. Lytton Bulwer, entitled the 'New Timon and the Poets,' which were sent to 'Punch,' though not sent by Tennyson himself, are an even better example.

But Virgil soon came under another influence, for him far more potent than that of Catullus. One of the most striking and interesting of his minor poems is what may perhaps be called a sixth-form or undergraduate piec

may say that probably here too his position was really not unlike that of the Tennyson of whom Jowett writes: 'Tennyson was very much of a scholar, but was not at all a pedant. Once he said to me, "I hate learning," by which I understood him to mean that he hated the minutiae of criticism compiled by the Dryasdusts.' Both certainly loved simplicity, but the simplicity of knowledge, not of ignorance.

It need hardly be said that Virgil's 'sweet Muses' did return, and that he found himself loving philosophy, but writing poetry. But this love of philosophy was in him no passing undergraduate phase. It sank deep into the very tissue of his being: it persisted to his latest day. In his last year, when setting out on the final fatal journey to Greece and Asia, his purpose was, we are told, to finish the 'Æneid,' and then to give up the rest of his life to philosophy. The Epicurean philosophy was fashionable in the Rome of Virgil's youth, and his tutor Siron was its most fashionable professor. It had two main branches of interest and two aspects. It was largely a materialistic philosophy, attempting to give an account of the physical universe, dealing therefore with questions rather of natural science than of philosophy proper. In the realm of religion it preached a kind of mechanical fatalism, a 'polytheistic deism,' if such a phrase can be coined. This, like other agnostic systems, produced in shallower natures an easy hedonism—'let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die'; in deeper, a sort of strenuous positivism or religion of irreligion—'let us toil and strive, for the long night cometh, and in the grave there is neither wisdom nor knowledge.' The first may be seen in Memmius Gemellus or in Horace, who calls himself a 'hog of Epicurus' sty'; the second in Lucretius and in Virgil. The debt, the deep debt, of Virgil to Lucretius is obvious and avowed, but its character and limits are not always understood.

Here once more the parallel with Tennyson becomes singularly illuminating. Tennyson and his friends at Cambridge, like Virgil in the class-rooms of Rome, complained of the narrow range, the cut-and-dried nature, of much academic study. His fine, but too denunciatory sonnet on the Cambridge of his day, ending—

' You that do profess to teach,
And teach us nothing, feeding not the heart '—

the poet, and through the poet the world, the secrets of nature and science. If he cannot learn these, the poet would prefer the life of seclusion and ease, unknown to fortune and to fame.* This is worth toiling for, not the giddy and gaudy glories of the senate and the market-place, of the throne and the sword; yes,

‘Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,’

but also—

‘Fortunatus et ille, deos qui novit agrestes,
Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores.’

That this love of science was one of Virgil’s first loves is shown by the fact that it had appeared already in the Sixth of the ‘Eclogues,’ in the famous song of Silenus, the language of which is strikingly Lucretian; and indeed still earlier, in the ‘Culex.’ Its persistence is proved by its reappearance in the First ‘Æneid,’ in the song of the minstrel Iopas, who, like Silenus, sings of ‘the wandering moon and the sun’s eclipse,’ and

‘Whence mankind and cattle came,
The source of water and of flame,’

and again in the Sixth Æneid, in that transcendent central passage, beginning—

‘Principio cælum ac terram camposque liquentes,’

which Mr. F. W. H. Myers has rendered so finely—the most Virgilian passage in Virgil, as he calls it.

Tennyson’s early poems in exactly the same way show this combination of interests, which was to reappear later in more splendid and mature expression. The chief mark of his poems in the little Lincolnshire volume, put out by him and his brother when still at school, is the display made, with all the innocent exaggeration of boyhood, at once of literary learning and of scientific study. This is shown by the very titles of the poems, ‘Apollonius’ Complaint,’ ‘The High Priest to Alexander,’ ‘Mithridates

* There a story that Virgil said that the only thing which does not cause satiety is knowledge. (‘Tib. Cl. Donati Vita,’ xviii, 73.)

Greek, Roman, and modern, and he often makes scholarly allusions and appropriations, and occasionally, though not often, obviously imitates or translates. But the amount of his imitation has been, as he himself long ago pointed out, much over-estimated by the class of critics who are inclined—to use his own phrase—to ‘swamp the sacred poets with themselves.’

In addition to the charge of plagiarism thus brought against both of them, they were taken to task for yet other faults, faults of manner, faults of matter. Virgil was accused of a ‘new Euphuism’ of a special and subtle kind, by which he gave an unusual and recondite meaning to simple words. The critics could not call him either bombastic or poverty-stricken, they therefore quarrelled with what he and Horace considered his great achievement, and what surely is a secret of his grand style, his new and inspired combination of old and simple materials. The truth would seem to be that Virgil, like Tennyson, held the theory that poetry and poetic diction must often suggest rather than express, that you cannot tie down the poet to one meaning and one only. ‘Poetry is like shot silk,’ Tennyson once said, ‘with many glancing colours, it combines many meanings’ :—

‘Words, like Nature, half reveal
And half conceal the soul within’ ;

and this is exactly the theory applied by Conington to the elucidation of Virgil.*

A more serious charge is that levelled against the characters, and especially the heroes, of their epics. Tennyson’s mediævalism is unreal: he has sophisticated the masculine directness of Malory. The hero of the ‘Idylls’ is a prig, and a blameless prig: he is too good, he is even goody. This has often been said of Tennyson and King Arthur. It is exactly what is said of Virgil and *pius Æneas*. Virgil’s hero is a prig or a ‘stick’—‘always,’ as Charles James Fox remarked, ‘either insipid or odious’: his blood does not flow, his battles are battles of the stage. Virgil’s epic is a drawing-room epic. These are criticisms often made, and there is a certain truth in them. *Æneas*

* For instance in his note on ‘Assurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion,’ ‘*Æneid*,’ i, 535.

With both may be not inaptly compared Tennyson's fine and famous lines—

‘O well for him whose will is strong!
He suffers, but he will not suffer long.’

Had Tennyson been more bold and determined with his epic, reared a more sustained architecture, and finished all in a style and on a scale more fully corresponding to the promise of the first ‘Morte d’Arthur,’ the resemblance might have been more complete, if less interesting.

Yet when all deductions have been made, the parallel seems well worth working out. How close it is perhaps we can hardly yet tell. Hereafter, when these things shall have become history, when the Victorian age like the Augustan shall lie ‘foreshortened in the tract of time,’ its separate stars gathered to one glittering constellation, it will be more easy to pronounce. Yet assuredly it is strikingly close. Were there ever two poets at once so profound and so popular, satisfying at the same time the highest and the widest tastes; poets the delight of the artist and the student; the favourites, and more, the friends, of kings; the heroes, so far as men of letters can be heroes, of an empire? Did we hold Virgil's creed, we might be tempted at times to think—though the dates do not exactly, but only nearly, correspond—of that ancient doctrine so wonderfully handled by Plato and by Virgil himself, and to fancy that the tender and pensive, yet withal manly, soul—‘Leal bard, lips worthy of the laurelled god’—which went to join Musæus on the Elysian lawn nineteen years before the birth of Christ, had, after twice rolling the fateful cycle, found a third avatar, and lived again, well nigh two thousand years later, in the English Laureate of the nineteenth century. But Tennyson's faith, though the doctrine had much attraction for him, was not this. Rather it was one which looked ever forward and upward—‘On and always on.’

was, however, not cast in the clerical mould. Credulous, curious, sanguine, and versatile, a kind of Mr Micawber, whose favourite phrase, in the midst of persistent pecuniary troubles, was 'Tout s'arrangera,' he was inevitably drawn into the din and dust of Paris. In the critical month of August 1792 he came to the capital, and entered the printing-house of assignats in the Place Vendôme. His career was the reverse of successful. He was bankrupt more than once, and tasted the solitude of La Pélagie, not the most commodious of prisons. He wrote an unsuccessful novel, printed an ecclesiastical gazette, was practically ruined by the suppression of his printing-office in 1812, but sprouted up again ever youthful and ebullient as male housekeeper to a private lunatic asylum.

It will be agreed that life did not open very radiantly for Jules. The lad lost his mother—a poor, sad, depressed creature from the Ardennes country, whose physical strength was plainly inadequate to cope with usurious duns and the pangs of hunger—when he was just beginning to need her most. Laborious days spent in a dark cellar putting up type; 'up to fifteen years no meat, no wine, no fire; bread and vegetables most often cooked with water and salt'; no brothers and sisters, and no playmates. Then there was the shadow of the Napoleonic wars, the sense of squandered lives, of hopeless political and military ruin, of stifled thought and strangled commerce. The boy never forgot the horror of d'Enghien's execution, and he confessed afterwards that nothing had more enabled him to understand the sombre monotony of the Middle Ages than to have languished as a child in the last days of the Empire. 'I felt in my sombre cave what the Jew dreamt of when he built the pyramids . . . what the man in the Middle Ages dreamt when he drew his furrow under the shade of the feudal tower.' The results of the Corsican ambition, indeed, were brought home to the slender Michelet *ménage* in the most practical of all ways—dear food, and a derisory indemnity for the suppression of their printing press. Perhaps it was as well for the future historian that he should thus early have experienced the repercussion of high politics on everyday life.

This child of ardent imagination and tender feminine sympathies, morbidly shy and diffident, quick to tears, but full of enthusiasm and poetry, passed a youth 'devoured

in the company of a few great authors, undistracted by the ordinary pleasures and friendships of youth, the sound, though perhaps too rhetorical drill of the Lycée Charlemagne, and then a life of almost incessant lecturing and teaching in classical, philosophical, and historical subjects. 'Great thoughts,' said Vauvenargues, 'come from the heart.' Is this not also true of great histories as well? At any rate, the historical work of Michelet flowed from this source, and was inspired by a most constant and fervid social ideal. Though the man had an astounding plenitude of rhetorical resource, and could pour out unending melodies of scorn and rapture, sentiment and eloquence, all controlled by that delicate sense of rhythm which is the finest gift of the artist in words, yet he cared little for the exercise of these precious talents, save as a means to an end. 'I did not wish to live by my pen,' he writes, speaking of his first scholastic appointment at a small private school. 'I thought then, as Rousseau, that literature ought to be a thing reserved, the fine luxury of life, the inmost flower of the soul.' The main part of life must be practical, and what more practical career than that of the teacher? 'L'enseignement c'est le sacerdoce.'

The life of a teacher may be difficult to reconcile with the severe labour of original historical research, but it is generally held to bring compensating advantages—greater perspicuity, greater sense of proportion, greater width of sympathy. To this category of benefits it should be added that teaching always meant for Michelet friendship, and that friendship had meant love. Other historians had been more brilliant, judicious, and profound. The special value of his own work was that, if less bookish, it was closer to life than many elegant and reputable performances, for it was written by a man of the people who had loved and suffered more than most professors; and the thoughts had been struck out in ardent and sympathetic communion with the young.

The great source of Michelet's strength lies in the clearness with which he conceives his end. He does not care a fig for mere erudition, he eschews footnotes, he rarely affords the readers a glimpse of his scaffoldings. He may be tediously emphatic in his rhetoric, but he is a man with a gospel, and the power to hold his audience.

tionary view of Christianity.* In an eloquent little book, the 'Bible de l'Humanité,' published in 1864, that is to say, after Strauss and Renan had respectively abolished and evaporated Christ, he reviewed the leading creeds of the world, indicating his own marked preference for the ancient religion of the Persians. The creeds fall into two classes, those of the Peoples of the Light, and those of the Peoples of the Twilight, the Night, and the *Clair-Obscur*. In the first division we have India, Persia, and Greece: in the second division Egypt, the religion of death; Syria and Phrygia, the religion of enervation; the worship of Bacchus-Sabbas, typifying tyranny and military orgies; Judaism, the religion of the slave; Christianity, the religion of the woman. Of the last religion he writes:—

'Three women begin the whole thing. Anne, mother of the Virgin; Elizabeth, her cousin, mother of St John, and another Anne, prophetess, and wife of the high priest. . . . The Messianic condition (to be elderly and so far childless) was found precisely in the cousins Anne and Elizabeth.'

The 'Protoevangelium Jacobi,' 'innocent and amusing,' is the book which throws the clearest light upon this feminine aspect of Christianity. It is unnecessary to say more of Michelet's treatment of Christian origins, for it is confessedly slight, and indeed little more than a repetition of Renan's sentimental and unsatisfactory idyll. The curious fact is that Michelet seems never to have recognised that Christianity has anything to say to grown men. The whole history of Christian development is explained upon the hypothesis of a secular conspiracy between the priest and the woman, culminating in the domination of the Jesuits, the organisation of the confessional, the break-up of family life, the Vendée, and the counter-Revolution. The antidote to this emasculating influence was to be found in the study of national history, in a closer and more refined union between man and wife, and in a sense of the solidarity of man with nature.

It is well that an historian should offer prescriptions, and Michelet's prescriptions are admirable. No one, except

* 'L'Eglise était pour moi un monde étranger, de curiosité pure, comme eût été la lune. Ce que je savais le mieux de cet astre pâli c'est que ses jours étaient comptés, qu'il avait peu à vivre.' ('Hist. de Fr.,' Préf., 1860, p. xi.)

perhaps Georges Sand in 'Mdlle la Quintinie,' has described the evils of the confessional so eloquently, or has studied with such delicate insight and sympathy the influence of priest upon woman through history. But while there are clearly many elements of truth in Michelet's view, it is nothing short of astounding that an historian, a poet, and a moralist, steeped in the literature of the Middle Ages, should have been dead to the rational and practical side of Church teaching, should have ignored the extent to which it fortified mind and character in barbarous ages, and should have attributed the ultimate victory of a great institution and scheme of thought to the insidious influence of priest upon woman and woman upon man. Fortunately this unsympathetic attitude had not been adopted until after the completion of the first six volumes of the 'History of France,' which carry the reader down to the end of the Middle Ages.

For diplomatic correspondence he had little taste, and in this was the opposite of Ranke, 'notre aimable savant ingénieux, Ranke, qui nous a tant appris,' who seems to find nothing but state papers entirely interesting. It was necessary, of course, to read Granvelle and similar authorities for the period of Charles V; and Michelet is careful to explain that if his treatment of the reign of Louis XIII seems to be a tissue of Court intrigue, it is because (as Cardinal Mazarin explained to the Queen) the capture of the King for two days meant a revolution in policy. But having chosen the people for his hero, he despises cabinet intrigues, deeming that they have been accorded an excessive importance in historical works. Thus Cato introduces him to the 'rudeness of the old Latin genius,' revealing 'a people patient and tenacious, disciplined and regular, avaricious and avid.' Germany is made manifest in Grimm's 'Weisthümer,' that splendid collection of old legal custom and ritual, and in the writings and table-talk of Luther, from which Michelet published two volumes of extracts. So, too, Haxthausen's agrarian studies first discover for him the true Russia.

Michelet always looks behind the courtly records for clues to the real popular life, and thus shows the way to Mr. J. R. Green and the later group of social historians. He claims to have discovered 'the great, the sombre, the terrible fourteenth century,' by discarding Froissart, who, spinning like a gaudy dragon-fly over a dank and turbid

gives rise to the following reflections: 'The most terrifying thing is that there are no eyes. At least, one scarcely sees them. What? This terrible blind man shall be the guide of nations? Obscurity, vertigo, fatality, absolute ignorance of the future—this is what one reads here.' It is characteristic of him to seize upon some little scrap of personal evidence and hold it up to the spectators as typical and decisive of a man or even of a period. In the hands of a great imaginative writer such a method is always effective, often convincing, sometimes very misleading.

It is generally agreed that the finest portions of Michelet's historical work are the first six volumes of the 'History of France.' They were written between 1833 and 1843, when he was Professor at the École Normale and the Collège de France, and also chief of the historical division of the Archives Nationales. The 'History of the French Revolution' was written between 1845 and 1853, the 'Renaissance and the New Monarchy' from 1855 to 1867, the 'History of the Nineteenth Century' in 1869. It will thus be seen that the histories of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries were composed after the author had steeped himself in the passions of the Revolution. They are less complete, less sure, less massive than the earlier work. They are defaced by the introduction of pathological explanations which are often repellent and seldom convincing, and by an uncontrolled hatred of monarchy and religion.* Besides this, the literature of these later centuries was too vast to be mastered in its entirety; and Michelet selected and used his fragments with caprice. Melody, eloquence, divination are there: the voice is no longer that of the poet-savant but that of the poet-politician.

It has been truly said by a distinguished scholar that we are apt to overrate the morals and to underrate the brains of the Middle Ages. Michelet certainly underrated the value and originality of mediæval thought; and, despite

* This would be sufficiently clear from Michelet's own avowal even if there were nothing else to support it. 'Quand je rentrais, que je me retournai, revis mon Moyen Âge, cette mer superbe de sottises, une hilarité violente me prit, et au seizième au dix-septième siècle je fis une terrible fête. Rabelais et Voltaire ont ri dans leur tombeau. Les dieux crevés, les rois pourris ont apparu sans voile. La fade histoire du convenu, cette prude honteuse dont on se contentait, a disparu. De Médicis à Louis XIV une autopsie sévère a caractérisé ce gouvernement de cadavres.' ('Hist. de France,' Préf., 1869.)

loves the Revolution, which was 'gloriously spiritualistic, daughter of philosophy, not of the deficit'; but, on the other hand, he hates the Terror, and has arrived at a very just estimate of Robespierre. He is therefore forced to explain how it was that so glorious a movement, 'which demanded that a whole people should elevate itself above its material habits,' should decline upon so miserable an issue. His answer is that certain assignable mistakes were committed. In the first place, the Constituent lacked *le sens éducatif*. It was prolific in laws, but it did not supply the means of education by which those laws could be made intelligible. Its work was merely political and superficial, fruitful in laws, sterile in dogmas; whereas it ought to have been social, profound, positive. Then the Constituent, tempted by the virtues of Rabaut, Grégoire, and Camus, made the mistake of compromising with the Church; while, lastly, war should have been declared a year earlier, before the air had become thick with suspicion, and when France could have taken the offensive against unready foes, for it was the defensive war which produced the September massacres.

These explanations neglect the facts that the Reign of Terror and spontaneous anarchy had really begun in 1789; that the process of political education cannot be accomplished by a stroke of the pen; and that France was wholly unready for a breach with Catholicism. The one remedy which to Mirabeau and Malouet seemed possible—the establishment of a constitutional monarchy after the English pattern—is by Michelet rejected with scorn.

'The Middle Ages,' he writes, 'only possessed one hypocrisy; we possess two: the hypocrisy of authority, the hypocrisy of liberty; in a word the priest, the Englishman—the two forms of Tartuffe. The priest acts principally on women or the peasant; the Englishman on the *classes bourgeoises*.'

Perhaps after all Michelet was right, and the experiment of parliamentary government is alien to the genius of French republicanism. Yet the hypocritical side of English liberty was not so apparent in 1789 as it was thirty years later; and Montesquieu's ideal picture of us had not yet been torn to shreds by the iconoclasts of constitutional history.

Anacharsis Clootz once said on a famous occasion,
Vol. 193.—No. 385. L

‘France, guéris-toi des individus.’ Michelet, who individualises everything, who paints character so boldly and brilliantly, gives this to his country by way of crowning precept after issuing from the fiery furnace of ’94. The great things of the Revolution were, in his view, done, not by a few men, but by the masses; he disbelieved in the artificial mechanism of the revolutionary day. The growth of France was not, as so many had written, the result of the fostering care of the monarchy; and it was Michelet’s aim to prove the fact in his concluding volumes. Germany and Italy had lived by the light of a few bright stars; France ‘by the common soul’: ‘sans la France le Français n’est plus.’ All the more difficult was the task of the historian, called upon to evoke this varied and multitudinous life. ‘Doucement, messieurs les morts,’ whispered the Archivist to his sallow cohorts, ‘procédons par ordre, s’il vous plaît.’ And what a long, noble, and crowded procession it is, glowing with light and air and animation! Who can forget the portraits of Joan of Arc, and Luther, ‘with his heroic joy and laughter,’ and Louis XI, and Savonarola? Who has ever written a finer page upon Turenne?

‘In this time of Spanish emphasis and heroes *à la* Corneille, prose appeared in Turenne. It was seen that war was an affair of logic, mathematics, and reason, that it did not demand great heat, but, on the contrary, a cold good sense, firmness and patience; much of that special instinct of the sportsman and his dog which can perfectly be reconciled with mediocrity of character. Romances have invested Turenne with an air of philanthropy, making him a kind of philanthropist, a warlike Fénelon. There is nothing of all that. The reality is that the Thirty Years’ War, having lost its furies and its heats, and having used up five or six generations of indifferent generals, without passions or ideas, finished by producing the technical man, or incarnate art, light, ice, and calculus. No emotion remains. It is a quasi-pacific war, but none the less murderous.’

Could anything more truly illustrate the workings of an epoch in a man, or the light which a man casts upon an epoch?

‘The Renaissance did not regard antiquity as a varied world of mingled ages and infinitely different colours, but as Eternal Venus.’ Michelet, who sweeps the field of history with a microscope, was not in danger of falling into the

error which he attributes to the Italians of the sixteenth century, and which certainly vitiates the æsthetic criticism of Winckelmann and Goethe. His antiquity is living and concrete, and coloured with all the hues of the spectrum. He paints the movement and the passion of crowds with the power of Tintoret, overhears the chatter of the peasant's cottage and the wineshops, listens to the *curé* and his housekeeper, to the priest and his *pénitente*, watches the fingers of the machinist tending his tyrant of steel, follows the plough as it shears through the loam, catches the malevolent gossip from the backstairs of the palace, and throws his ardent nature into every aspect of human toil and every manifestation of human character. The great spectacle of historic France, with its varying climes and tempers and manners of living, emerges for the first time into clear light with the advent of the Capetian dynasty. There is a character which persists, discerned equally by Polybius and Strabo and by the intelligent English traveller of the eighteenth century, a buoyancy, an *insouciance*, a brilliant courage, a nimble wit, a sensual appetite. Multiply coarseness and power and it gives you Rabelais or Danton; add the nervousness which comes from crowds, and you get the furies of 1358 and 1792. Some large spirits, a Fénelon or a Renan, seem to contain all the intellectual nuances in their Protean variety; but, large as that variety is, there is no trait of national thought or feeling which has escaped Michelet's piercing vision. He has written, says Taine, 'the lyrical epic' of French history, lyrical in the intensity of its personal feeling, and yet an epic in that it recreates poetically the story of a nation.

Von Ranke thought that the historian's mission was merely to relate what had actually happened, 'was eigentlich geschehen ist.' Michelet, however, was constitutionally incapable of seeing anything through plain glass. In his best period he felt passionately with every movement and every phase, breathing life and love whithersoever he passed. 'Let it be,' he writes, 'my part in the future not to have attained but to have marked the goal of history, to have given it a name which no one as yet has uttered. Thierry called it narrative and M. Guizot analysis. I have named it resurrection, and this name will remain to it.' In view of the historical methods at present practised in

‘the deplorable philanthropy’ of Fructidor, which preferred to send its victims to rot away in Cayenne rather than to expiate their royalism on the block. M. Houssaye, working from the police reports in the Paris archives, shows how much popularity still remained to Napoleon even in the Hundred Days. Michelet, who remembered how the Dames des Halles stood under their umbrellas in the Marché des Innocents and cursed the man who had robbed them of their coffee, will have none of this. The misfortune is that in order to blacken Napoleon he must needs gild the last moments of the Directorate.

But when all is said, Michelet remains a force in historical literature which no subsequent generation can afford to neglect. His reflection is often childish, his analysis deficient, his passion strained; there are pages of inaccuracy, pages of hallucination, pages of prurience. Whole nations are sometimes travestied, and the wilfulness of an overstrung genius often flings its fantastic colours upon the page. But we are brought face to face with men and women who think, feel, and act. All things, indeed, which pass through the furnace of that glowing mind come out human. Nations and rivers, birds and storms, mountains and insects are endowed with living personality. Every province has its special character and *ἦθος*. The Ardennes is ‘dry, critical, serious’; Flanders is ‘a prosaic Lombardy, lacking the vine and the sun’; we read of ‘the spiritual lightness’ of Guyenne, the pompous and ‘solemn eloquence’ of Burgundy, the ‘contradictory genius’ of Poitou, the ‘violent petulance’ of Provence. Upon such passages the foe of subjective history might write a sufficiently crushing dissertation.

Many histories may be more methodical and judicious, but is there another historian endowed with Michelet’s poetic vision, with his broad grasp of human motives, his immortal velocity of style? Texts do not say everything; often they do not say the important things. Like the moon at night, they reveal the dim silhouette of the forest, leaving it for the inner eye to figure the various wealth of foliage, the fresh dewy lawns, the glancing colours of the birds and butterflies, the green bracken rustling with living things. Yet it must not be supposed that Michelet neglected his texts. He had read enormously, especially in manuscript material; and the ‘History of the French

there is no other man living who could have written the book, who could be animated by the sentiments expressed in it, or who would have dared to make so frank a confession of his political aims and intentions. The reason for dwelling with so much emphasis on the authority of the autobiography is that, if it sincerely expresses the views of the ruler of Afghanistan, a more important document has seldom if ever been presented to the consideration of the statesmen and people of this country. It is a bold appeal to the conscience and common sense of the British nation; an attempt to prove by illustration, by argument and by the too often neglected lessons of experience, that there is no ally whom Great Britain can discover in Europe or Asia more likely to be useful to her than Afghanistan, or whose interests are so absolutely and inevitably bound up with her own. With Afghanistan strong and in friendly alliance, the defence of India against attack would be an easy matter, and the difficulties of our frontier administration would disappear; while, should we allow Afghanistan to be hostile, or drive her, by ungenerous treatment, into the arms of Russia, the security of our military position would be endangered, and the finances of India would be grievously burdened by a vast increase in our military expenditure.

The policy which the Amir thus advocates is that which has inspired his action ever since he ascended the throne. The writer of this article has been thrown into intimate relations with the Amir, and has discussed with him, at some length, the great questions at issue; and he can testify, not only to the Amir's sincerity and strength of character, but to the fact that he commenced his rule with the firm determination to be a friend of England, perceiving, from the very fact of the offer to him of the throne, that she had no design against the independence of Afghanistan. On the other hand, the Amir knew, from his long residence in Russia and a careful study of its policy in Asia, that alliance with Russia signified first the control and then the absorption of Afghanistan. The events of the last twenty years have strengthened the confidence of the Amir in the wisdom of the policy which he adopted. He has seen Russia advance from one vantage ground to another, until her progress has been stayed only by the delimitation of the frontier—a measure which was un-

fortunately too long delayed. From time to time he has been accused of frontier intrigue against the British Government; but it must be remembered that, until the Indian frontier was definitely laid down, the Amir and the Indian Government were in constant dispute as to their respective territories; and it is a matter of congratulation that this cause of quarrel is now removed. Even so recently as the last Afridi war, the Amir was accused of allowing his soldiers, and even officers, to assist the enemy; but in times of excitement such accusations are lightly made, and his stern refusal to aid or countenance the Afridi deputations who visited his capital showed a spirit thoroughly friendly to Great Britain. When his position, as the ruler of a democratic and fanatical people in strong sympathy with their Afridi kinsmen, is considered, it will be understood that the maintenance of so friendly a neutrality was extremely difficult.

Sir Alfred Lyall, an authority second to none, whose graceful and sympathetic verses are more than once quoted by the Amir, is reported to have said in a lecture delivered on the 31st November last, that he saw no solution but by a friendly understanding with Russia for the complex problems which lie in front of that Power and England in Asia. If he had then read the Amir's autobiography he would have admitted that, at any rate, a reasonable solution for the most urgent of these problems has been offered by a ruler whose expression of opinion deserves the fullest consideration. No statesman can deny that a friendly understanding with Russia is eminently desirable; and this the Amir fully admits. Neither he nor England have any quarrel with Russia, and their sincere desire is to remain on the best of terms with their Northern neighbour. This, since the delimitation of the Afghan boundary, is possible, if England is determined to observe the promises which she has formally given to the Amir. But it would be to ignore the obvious lessons of experience to suggest that a friendly understanding with Russia can rest on any other basis than that of a boundary authoritatively fixed, the infringement of which would be at once resented, while the deliberate occupation of any important territory situated beyond it would be treated as an act of war. If Russia thoroughly realises that the occupation of Herat would be treated by both parties in England in the

dangers and privations, at length brought Abdur Rahman to Samarkand, where, under Russian protection, he remained for nearly eleven years. He was treated by the Russians with consideration, and a sufficient allowance was granted him ; but he was still a state prisoner rather than a guest—a hunting leopard held in a leash till such time as his master should see fit to slip him on the predestined prey. This time arrived when Sher Ali, incited by the Russians to quarrel with England and then abandoned by them, had been driven from his kingdom to die, a broken-hearted fugitive, in Balkh ; and when his son and successor Yakub, equally treacherous and far less competent, had been deposed and deported to India after the murder of the British envoy, Sir Louis Cavagnari, with his staff and escort, in the Kabul palace.

The Russian authorities then decided that their opportunity had come, and that Abdur Rahman, with his ability and great military reputation, would be able to establish himself in Turkestan, if not at Kabul, as a Russian nominee, trained, through long years of exile, to hear through Russian ears and see through Russian eyes, and to carry out a policy in Afghanistan which would make it a Russian province like Khiva or Bokhara. The Russians took good care to remain in the background during Abdur Rahman's expedition. They had no desire to quarrel with England by openly backing a pretender to the throne of a country in which they had solemnly renounced the right to interfere. So they gave him little money and no officers or men. He was despatched, with full instructions as to his conduct, to try his fortune, Russia, as usual, reserving to herself the right to claim the stakes without risking anything on the game. But Russian policy, which is much over-rated in England, and which is often as shortsighted as it is unscrupulous, had entirely miscalculated the character of Abdur Rahman. The Russians had treated him at Samarkand with a frankness which had dispelled many illusions. Their policy in Asia was familiar to him ; and he had personally witnessed their treachery towards those chiefs who had trusted them. In the long seclusion of his quiet garden-house at Samarkand he had come to the decision that whenever his chance should come, he would never, voluntarily and with his eyes open, become the servant and the victim of Russia. Between England and

Russia he knew that his poor country was, as he says himself, like a goat between the lion and the bear; but, although England had been in frequent conflict with Afghanistan, he realised that if the friendship of England were granted it would be constant and sincere. Whatever the Continental press may assert of English policy, in Asia at any rate, England is known as the Power which adheres to her engagements.

Abdur Rahman crossed the Oxus determined to act a part which he carried through with brilliancy and success, to the admiration and embarrassment of his English supporters, down to the very day when he was proclaimed Amir. It was imperative that Russia should not suspect that he was not her dupe; and the fanatical population of Afghanistan would not have tolerated him if he had proclaimed himself on the side of the infidels who were in possession of the country. So he moved into Turkestan, the God-appointed leader of a holy war against the English, with whom he had resolved, if possible, to come to a friendly arrangement. His progress was slow and hazardous, but, gaining success after success, he attracted a great body of adherents, disloyal, turbulent, and ready, in Afghan fashion, to desert him on the first reverse. After winning a commanding position in Turkestan, he was met at Khânabad by two members of the personal staff of the chief political officer in Kabul; and the negotiations commenced which ended in his being accepted as Amir. But during all this period his public attitude never varied; the comedy was strictly played to the final act. It was only after the interviews with Sir Lepel Griffin at Zimma, when he had received both verbal and written assurances of the support of the British Government in money and material, and in protection against foreign aggression, that his attitude changed to that of the cordial friend and well-wisher. He at once undertook the task of facilitating the march of the British armies to Kabul and Kandahar, by arrangements with all the tribal chiefs on the line of march; and it was largely due to him, as he justly claims in his book, that these important military operations were conducted without a single hostile shot being fired.

The selection of Abdur Rahman as candidate for the throne was a master-stroke, for which Lord Lytton is en-

This frank statement of fact was not calculated to allay anxiety. The 92,000 men were not organised in any sense; but were for the most part youths undergoing elementary training. From them drafts for South Africa were made up, and it has proved necessary to send out lads under twenty who had never fired a rifle. In addition, there remained at home sixty-eight battalions of Militia under strength, indifferently trained, without transport, and unprovided with field artillery. Finally, there was an unorganised mass of about 230,000 Volunteers and Yeomanry, totally unfitted to undertake field operations. In all, there remained in the United Kingdom 409,000 nominal effectives of various designations;* but there was no field force, and for months none could be created. It had been popularly supposed that the Militia, Yeomanry, and Volunteers were specially maintained for what has been called 'home defence,' in the absence of regular troops. This condition had now presented itself, and it was tardily recognised that an aggregate of battalions provided with rifles and uniforms does not necessarily make an army.

Spurred by public opinion, the Government at length took measures which were severely criticised. Having sixty-eight Militia battalions available as a nucleus, it was evidently desirable to fill them up to full strength of officers and men, to group them in brigades, and to put them through a course of field training. Instead, it was decided to improvise a new force by forming cavalry regiments and infantry battalions of soldiers who had completed their period of army engagement, and were to be induced by a bounty of £21 to serve for one year only in this country. Officers were to be provided from the reserve and retired lists. A more costly and more ineffective measure could not have been devised. The emergency units could barely be made effective, as units only, before they were doomed to disappear; and they could not supply the field force which was required. At the same time, a portion of the Volunteer force was bribed to undergo a short period of training with a view to qualify them-

* In addition there must have been at least 400,000 men in the country who had served in one or other of our numerous military forces, and were physically fit for service.

study of such questions, is directly responsible. We had an Intelligence Department which carefully noted the great military preparations of the Boers subsequent to the Raid; but it was no one's business to study the requirements of 'inevitable' wars or to tender reasoned military advice to the Cabinet. The system provided no force ready for embarkation, and the want was inadequately met by a demand upon India and the colonial garrisons, and by a misuse of the Royal Navy. The mobilisation proceeded without difficulty, as was to be expected; but the inherent defects in our military system became at once apparent, and large numbers of nominally effective soldiers proved unfit for a campaign. This entailed the depletion of the so-called reserves, and the disorganisation of the Militia. As soon as the effective portion of the regular army had been embarked, it became apparent that the forces popularly supposed to be maintained for home defence were not equipped or organised for the purpose; and further improvisation, costly and ineffective, was hastily adopted. Lastly, the course of the campaign quickly proved that the Army had not been trained for war; that some of the commands had been unwisely bestowed; and that the huge extemporised staff was in some cases ill-qualified for the discharge of its duties. Here were many of the elements which in less favourable conditions would have caused national disaster. The disabilities of the enemy and the inherent fighting qualities and natural adaptability of the British race enabled the situation to be saved.

(2.) *The Causes.*

The causes which have produced a military system permeated by gross defects, now nakedly exposed to the gaze of the world, admit of easy discrimination. In the first place, as the late Commander-in-Chief and the late Adjutant-General have publicly intimated, no real attempt has ever been made to define the military requirements of the nation, and to build up an organisation fulfilling those requirements. For thirty years the Army has been subjected to a process of tinkering which has destroyed all confidence in its central administration. 'The House of Commons,' writes Mr Arnold-Forster, 'has never refused to grant any sum of money for the services of the Arm

was long, measured by Continental standards, and it was not even a novelty. Enlistments for seven years had been tried in 1806, for ten years in 1847, and for two years in 1854; but when three years might have to be deducted from the period of effective service in order to allow the boy to grow into a soldier, it is evident that the essential conditions of an army, of which one half was required to serve abroad, could not be satisfactorily fulfilled. It would be unjust not to admit that some of the minor changes inaugurated by Mr Cardwell were beneficial, or that a portion of the outcry against those changes may be traced to the prejudices which exist in armies as in other corporate bodies. The fact remains, that the so-called Cardwell system was radically defective in principle, and that its framers, blinded by the fascinations of German methods, had neglected to study British requirements.

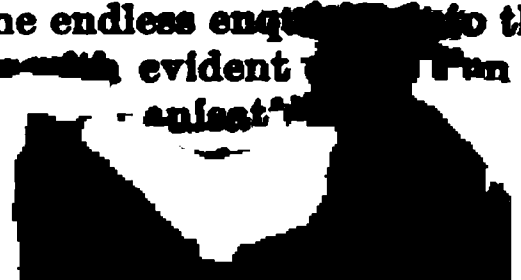
Mr Kinglake, the most scathing critic of the Departments which mal-administered the Army in 1854, freely admitted that 'they had yet upheld in full vigour our famous time-honoured "regiments," with the glory of the great days yet clinging to their names, their traditions, their colours.' The regiments that fought at Alma and at Inkerman were composed of grown men, and were, as regiments, superb. The new school, which began to acquire power in 1870, was not in touch with the regimental system of the Army, and, as soon as it had gained sufficient strength, it proceeded to undermine that system. Its schemes having at length given rise to wide-spread and well-founded dissatisfaction, a strong committee on Army organisation, presided over by Lord Airey, was appointed in 1879, which recorded evidence of the utmost importance. The dangerous deterioration of the physique of the Army was clearly proved. Some regiments sent to the Zulu War were shown to be quite unfit to undergo the stress of a campaign, even after discarding hundreds of their young recruits. The opinion of the Indian military authorities, supported by statistics, strongly condemned the organisation; and a Minute of Council of May 27th, 1879, recorded the fact that—

'The state of the 2nd battalion 6th Regiment, which has just landed in India almost bare of qualified non-commissioned

in framing their schemes.* Thus a clique had come into existence which succeeded in securing continuity of office for its members, in excluding all who did not subscribe to its views, and—for some years—in making effective use of the press. The vicissitudes of the Army from 1870 to 1884 are traced with great ability by the author of 'Fifteen Years of "Army Reform,"' which is a mine of useful information for all who desire to understand the causes of our present military difficulties. This little book is a striking record of ill-considered changes which have convulsed the Army without producing an organisation capable of meeting national requirements. The apparent intentions of the reformers could not be carried out, because they either violated principles or failed to conform to national conditions. Thus the Localisation Scheme of 1873 was, in the words of the War Office Committee which framed it, based upon a 'calculation'

'that 100,000 male population should furnish a Militia battalion of 1000; and as, when the organisation is perfected, each district would comprise two such Militia battalions, the districts have been divided as nearly as possible so as to contain each about 200,000 males.'

Since, in a country where compulsory service does not exist, there cannot be any fixed relation between the population of a district and the Militia it furnishes, the 'organisation' could not be 'perfected,' and has naturally failed to produce the expected results. Again, to provide drafts for units abroad, it was decided first to link battalions together, and secondly to couple them permanently into double battalion regiments, abolishing the time-honoured numbers and introducing a variety of new and cumbrous titles which destroyed the continuity of the military history of the Army. There was much to be said for cementing the county associations of the regiments, and this object could have been attained without outraging the deep-rooted sentiment of the Army; but the whole scheme was based upon a fallacy. Its working depended absolutely upon the maintenance of equality between the units at home and abroad. 'The very moment,' said Lord

* One of the most curious features of the endless enquiries into the state of the Army is the mass of evidence given with evident reluctance by civil officials ignorant of every principle of mil-


Committee established the existence; and the combination of Militia with line battalions to form territorial regiments proved disastrous to the Militia. Meanwhile, the whole system of organisation was so hopelessly defective that its working came to depend upon expedients of a disintegrating character. To enable 18,800 men to be sent to Egypt in 1882 for the purpose of quelling Arabi's rebellion, 11,600 reserve men were recalled to the colours, and more than 10,500 actually joined. This use of the reserve for a purpose for which it was not intended could only tend to render military service unpopular with the classes that supply recruits. At the same time the practice of drafting men from one unit to another became most undesirably frequent. Thus, in order to send three field batteries to South Africa in 1897, no less than 189 men and 272 horses had to be obtained by denuding other units; and in many other cases drafting was freely employed on a large scale. The inevitable result was to destroy *esprit de corps*. Again, units have frequently been sent abroad considerably under strength and containing lads supposed to be twenty, but not nineteen. Lastly, a most objectionable habit of creating special forces by collecting men from many regiments to form improvised bodies came into vogue. Thus the 'desert column,' upon which all the severe fighting fell in 1885, was skimmed from twenty-eight regiments and battalions, and cavalymen found themselves acting in an infantry square. Every principle of military organisation was thus violated, and at Abu Klea disaster was barely averted. This plan of constantly taking officers and men away from their proper duties and temporarily associating them for special objects has done infinite harm to the Army.

By such means as these it was sought to cover the inherent defects in our military system. These defects were, however, well known to the Army outside of the War Office; and each successive enquiry furnished critics with powerful weapons of attack. It has inevitably followed that for years our organisation has been the subject of heated controversy, injurious to the *moral* of the Army and practically futile, till 1897, when Lord Lansdowne made some considerable concessions to the critics. During these years of wordy strife much has been done to improve the position of the soldier, as of the artisan. There ha-

number of ineffective soldiers in the ranks is explained. It is not necessary or desirable to revert to the pre-Cardwellian system of engagements; it is vital to reduce the number of nominal soldiers with the colours and to increase the efficiency of the fighting units.

(3.) *Requisite Reforms.*

The school which has long swayed military policy at the War Office has shown little capacity for organisation. At times it has assured us that the state of the Army approached perfection; whenever great defects became plainly visible, it has given us to understand that its powers were inadequate or that the Treasury was to blame. As an organising and an administering head the War Office has failed. It has lost the confidence of the Army and of the nation; it needs, as Mr Hanbury has pointedly remarked, 'to be sifted out from top to bottom.' A War Office constructed upon business principles can alone provide an army organised and trained for war.

In common with the military forces, the War Office has been subjected to incessant changes, apparently made to suit the tastes or the ambitions of individuals rather than to comply with the principles of administration. There is neither system nor due definition of responsibility; mediocrity is effectually screened, and genius can have no play; a morbid craze for the assertion of power over the most trivial details dominates all other considerations. Here at least we might with advantage have borrowed from the Germans, who are past-masters in the art of decentralisation. The first necessary reform is to transfer from the War Office to the officers commanding districts and garrisons all the powers which these officers can wield. Efficiency should be ensured by inspection and audit, in place of allowing inefficiency to flourish under cover of volumes of minute regulations and reams of futile correspondence. 'Trust much and expect much' should be the motto of a reformed War Office, as it is that of all well-administered business undertakings, in which, as in the German army, incompetence receives short shrift.

The work of a War Department groups itself naturally under five heads, three military and two civil. The former include: (1) *Personnel*, including training, inspection, discipline, and recruiting; (2) *Matériel*, including military

dividuality which our system has tended to extinguish. The *moral* of an army depends largely upon its central administration, which, dispensing all honours and regulating all promotion, can directly encourage or repress the qualities which confer success in modern war. The havoc among the War Office selections for commands, great and small, which the present campaign has necessitated, will not easily be forgotten.

An army can neither organise nor train itself; and the more power is centralised in a single headquarter office absorbed in paper transactions, the less are the chances of progress. Constructive suggestions from subordinate officers are snubbed by the War Office; consequently a great portion of the intellectual vigour of our Army is expended upon destructive criticism. Yet at the present moment it is constructive proposals that are urgently needed. The first step is to define clearly the military requirements of the country; the second is to ascertain how these requirements can be effectively and economically fulfilled. The one is a question of policy, the other is a matter of organisation on business principles. 'Before the military authorities are called upon to provide an army,' said the late Commander-in-Chief, 'they ought to be informed clearly and distinctly what kind of an army the country wants.' The country has, however, no ideas upon the subject, except that it desires adequate security at a reasonable cost, and that it is conscious of inadequate preparations and large expenditure. Now the primary object of our organisation must be to secure the means of carrying on a vigorously offensive war. The function of the Navy in regard to the Empire is defensive—the guardianship of sea-communications. The fact that this function must be discharged by an energetic offensive does not affect the general proposition. The Army is the national weapon of offence, by the action of which alone decisive results can be attained. The Peninsular war, the Crimean campaign, and the Spanish-American war are instances in point. In none of these cases could an effective blow have been struck without offensive military action; but that action would have been impossible without naval guardianship. This axiom of national policy, frequently stated, has been practically ignored as a basis of military organisa-

tion. It is effectively presented in the following sentence taken from 'Army Reorganisation':—

'Unless we make preparation for such an offensive as will enable us to guard and support every portion of our Empire, and organise the Army with a view to its working in conjunction with the forces maintained by the Colonies, any effort at army reform will fall short of what the nation requires.'

To defend such an Empire as ours it is necessary to be prepared to strike. The recognition of this essential need does not in any sense imply the adoption of a policy of aggression, which is foreign to our instincts as a commercial people. It is simply and purely a principle forced upon us by national conditions and by the whole teaching of history. The defensive ideal upheld during the past forty years has entailed immense waste of money, has directly led to a neglect of the Navy, and has dangerously enfeebled our field Army. The military requirements indispensable for our national security are as follows:—

I. To maintain in full efficiency and in complete readiness for war the normal garrisons of India, of the colonial stations serving as secondary bases for the Navy, and of Egypt.

II. To provide at home a considerable field force fully organised, staffed, and equipped, and ready for immediate embarkation to reinforce India, or any portion of the Empire, or to serve for the purpose of a small war.

III. To provide a large field force at home completely organised and equipped and capable of being mobilised in a week for service abroad in the event of a great war.

IV. To maintain the machinery for supplying the wastage of war in the forces included under (I), (II), and (III).

V. To create a territorial army organised and equipped for home defence, capable of maintaining public confidence if the mass of the regular forces are serving abroad, and able in part to reinforce the army abroad if the circumstances are such that what is called 'home defence' becomes a minor consideration.

The first necessary step towards military reform is that the Cabinet, which is responsible for national defence, should formally adopt the foregoing definition of requirements. The next step is to evaluate those require-

the Militia. The second-line army should consist of not less than 200,000 men, who, failing the application of the ballot, must be obtained by adequate payment. The organisation should provide (a) a field force of not less than ten divisions complete in themselves as regards infantry, field artillery, and field engineers, and (b) a sedentary force, infantry, garrison artillery, and engineers told off to the fortified harbours on our coast-line. The basis of the organisation should be strictly territorial; and, as proposed by the author of 'Army Reorganisation,' the blighting influence of centralisation should be removed, so as to 'allow the Militia to resume its legitimate place in the county, and to ensure the civil administration of this country taking an interest in its welfare.' By means of a retaining fee, coupled with the condition of occasional drills, a real Militia Reserve can be created, not to fill the ranks on mobilisation, but to supply wastage in war or to enable additional units to be formed in case of great national emergency. While the Militia field army is maintained for purposes of home defence in the absence of the regular forces, it should be able, if circumstances permit, to supplement the Army in any part of the world, thus fulfilling the *rôle* which has given it a distinguished place in our military history.

The function of the Yeomanry should be to provide the mounted force required for the home field-army. This country affords little scope for the work of cavalry, but is admirably adapted to the employment of mounted infantry. As such, therefore, the Yeomanry should be exclusively trained, intelligent scouting and proficiency in rifle shooting being the main requirements. The establishment should be based upon that of the territorial army, each division of which should have its *quota* of Yeomanry, leaving a balance of the latter capable of being independently employed. The Yeomanry should, during their period of training, be paid at a rate sufficient to enable the necessary establishment to be maintained; and a small reserve should be formed.

The Volunteers must be recognised as a paid force, on condition of a greatly improved standard of efficiency. The present establishment should be reduced by one half, the object being to allow selection in recruiting, so as to obtain grown men of good physique. A force which cannot be

the incidents of the *Cent Jours*—these must place him among the immortals, and not even his attitude of ‘Oh, what a good boy am I!’ can deprive him of that place.

Of recent studies in English, Lord Rosebery’s monograph is in some respects far the most striking, though it is impossible to say that it contains much that is new. Its interest is mainly subjective—a statesman’s study of a statesman and soldier. It is written with judgment, brilliance, insight, and epigram. It paints Napoleon less vividly than his surroundings; the great man himself is somewhat of a shadow among a series of miniatures. But the artistic effect is admirable. The impression of Napoleon’s solitude, and of the immensity of his fall, is heightened by the pettiness of the persons by whom he was surrounded and the meanness of the squabbles in which he was involved. Of the conduct of the British Government towards their prisoner we shall have something more to say presently. Professor Sloane is an impartial—and, we fear we must add, a somewhat indigestible—summariser of facts, and does not always understand Napoleon’s character. For instance, he does not believe that the Emperor really intended to invade England in 1803. Yet no one who recalls Napoleon’s extraordinary audacity, his gambling spirit and his belief in his destiny, can feel serious doubts on this head. Though generally accurate and trustworthy, Professor Sloane’s work is disfigured by some curious mistakes; for instance, he often talks of shrapnel in the French battles, though shrapnel was first used in Wellington’s army and was never adopted by Napoleon. Judge O’Connor Morris, in his book on the campaign of 1815, has given us an English work little inferior to Mr Ropes’s learned and admirable study; he is, perhaps, the first British writer to do full justice to the Emperor. Apparently he had not read Gourgaud’s ‘*Sainte Hélène*,’ which would have helped him on one or two disputed points. Lady Malcolm’s St Helena diary gives information on the relations between Napoleon and Sir Hudson Lowe; while the Marquis de Montchenu’s reports tell us much about Gourgaud and his doings.

To what extent do these works throw new light upon the character of Napoleon? It should be remembered, especially when dealing with the voluminous St Helena literature, that the character of a profoundly impression-

such cases he had knowledge not possessed by those who tendered the advice.

So, too, in studying a great and exceptional character, it is well to analyse traits which at first sight may appear reprehensible. Thus Madame de Caulaincourt, speaking to Foy in 1814 of the Emperor's possible return and its results, said: 'Oh, you will see that he will pardon all the world. He has so low an opinion of men that he will regard the blackest treason and the vilest cowardice as simple and natural actions.'* Damning evidence of brutal cynicism this, it will be said, coming from one so near to and so familiar with Napoleon. Yet there are certain words in the diary of another great man, which may, perhaps, shed a light upon Napoleon's inmost thoughts, and prove that the cynicism was not so brutal after all.

'I am inclined,' wrote General Gordon in Khartum, '(satani-
cally I own) to distrust everyone, *i.e.* I trust everyone. I believe that circumstances may arise when self-interest will almost compel your nearest relative to betray you to some extent. Man is an essentially treacherous animal.'

The general result of recent Napoleonic literature is to negative the darkest conception of Napoleon's character, that conception embodied by Lanfrey in a work reeking with hatred of a dynasty which he personally detested. No sane person can now believe that Napoleon delighted in crime or in wrong-doing. Italian he was in temperament; condottiere, perhaps, in the famous phrase appropriated by Taine from Stendhal's arsenal, yet he does not reproduce the darker features of Italian mediævalism; with a Corsican passionateness, betraying him at times into such acts of violence as executing the Duc d'Enghien, and kicking Volney in the stomach for one of those phrases which he detested, he is yet, in Lord Rosebery's words, 'not so black as he has been painted.' Seeley and Ropes have pointed out that the condition of France rendered Cæsarism inevitable, and that he cannot justly be accused of the offence of usurpation. France has always gravitated towards a more or less despotic form of monarchy; and the permanence of the present Republic has been due rather to the absence of any eligible pretender than to any deep affection for Republican institutions.

* 'Vie Militaire du Général Foy,' 258.

Fouché, the most sinister personality of the Napoleonic epoch. It is probable, too, that family influence was brought to bear upon him. His brothers, from motives of ambition, hoping each to rule the new acquisition, were eager to see the Bourbons deposed and Spain brought under the influence of Napoleon. Joseph, for all his disclaimers later in life, was worrying the Emperor to give him preferment. But it is a perfectly true criticism that these subtle influences cannot condone Napoleon's offence, though they may extenuate it. There are times when the statesman, if he be true to himself and his country, must resist the impulsion of events and environment.

Before returning the final verdict upon this, as upon every other of Napoleon's crimes, recent precedents and the nature of the times must be taken into consideration. In dwelling upon the lawlessness of Napoleon's proceedings, contemporary and even later writers have been too ready to forget that this peculiar lawlessness did not originate with him. Louis XIV's seizures of Luxemburg, Strassburg, and other places, afford an eminent example of violence and perfidy. Frederick the Great's invasion of Silesia in profound peace was a piece of brigandage as bad as the treacherous attack on Spain; the partition of Poland was as indefensible as the worst of Napoleon's aggressions. Prussia, Austria, and Russia at various times made themselves accomplices in Napoleon's lawless acts. True, no one of them was lawless upon so gigantic a scale; but that, if we may guess from their subsequent history, was simply because their rulers lacked Napoleon's energy and capacity. Nor in the Napoleonic diplomacy was there anything worse than Bismarck's 're-insurance' treaty, which German opinion of our own day condones and justifies, or than the attack upon Denmark in 1864 and the subsequent manœuvres by which Prussia appropriated the spoil.

In the same way the outrage upon the Duc d'Enghien may at least be paralleled. It was really no worse than the murder of the French envoys at Rastatt; not much worse than the seizure of Lafayette—that windbag of whom American sentiment has made a hero—upon neutral soil, and his internment in an Austrian fortress. Even the hands of England are not perfectly clean. If our authorities did not directly assist the Royalist plotters against Napoleon's life, they at least winked at their machina-

neither Fleury de Chaboulon nor Montholon, both of whom were in attendance, allude to the incident. On the other hand, if he had attempted suicide at Fontainebleau, he was even more likely to repeat the attempt when his chances were still more desperate. He had little doubt as to what would have happened to him had he fallen into the hands of the Bourbons or the Prussians. Blücher, we know,* was for shooting him on the grave of the Duc d'Enghien; the British Government openly expressed the hope that Louis XVIII would hang or shoot him; and Louis could not have been expected to show any compunction. Napoleon professed to believe that if he threw himself on the mercy of the British he would be allowed to live in England; but Lord Rosebery has marshalled the obvious and conclusive objections to this, and they must have occurred to Napoleon. Whatever French writers may say, there was nothing treacherous or unjust in sending him to St Helena. Though the Allies and the French Government had been largely responsible for the return from Elba, by withdrawing his allowance, depriving his son of his inheritance in Italy, and keeping his wife from him, that return had shown him to be still possessed of boundless daring and energy. Mr Ropes, whose opinion is the more valuable because his sympathies are usually with Napoleon, considers that 'there was really nothing else to do with him than to consign him to some distant spot from which he would be unable to escape. For this purpose St Helena was no doubt as good as any other island.'

But, St Helena having been selected as a prison, the British Government might have been more merciful to the captive. Lord Rosebery is the first modern writer to examine exhaustively the evidence as to the Emperor's treatment; and his verdict may be accepted as generally just. The gaoler chosen, Sir Hudson Lowe,

'was a narrow, ignorant, irritable man, without a vestige of tact or sympathy. "His manner," says the apologetic Forsyth, "was not prepossessing, even in the judgment of favourable friends." "His eye," said Napoleon, on first seeing him, "is that of a hyæna caught in a trap." Lady Granville, who saw him two years after he had left St Helena, said that he had

* Müffling, 'Passages from my Life,' 274.

the countenance of a devil. We are afraid (says Lord Rosebery) that we must add that he was not what we should call in the best sense a gentleman. . . . Lowe was a specially ill choice, for a reason external to himself. He had commanded the Corsican Rangers, a regiment of Napoleon's subjects and fellow-countrymen in arms against France, and therefore, from that sovereign's point of view, a regiment of rebels and deserters.'

Such is Lord Rosebery's characterisation of the man on whom depended the amenity or otherwise of Napoleon's captivity. The instructions given him prove that the British Ministry had no wish to temper the sufferings of the fallen Emperor. Lord Rosebery comments severely upon the withholding of the title of Emperor, and the absurd persistency in re-christening the captive 'General Buonaparte,' pin-pricks which were worthy of the Bathursts and Liverpools who then controlled our administration. Lowe and the British admiral charged with taking out Napoleon pretended indeed not to know who was meant by 'the Emperor'—the Emperor with whose fame Europe had been ringing for the past ten years! One can understand how galling this solemn fooling must have been to Napoleon and his companions. A parvenu, he clung pathetically to his dignity, and no possible harm could have been done by giving him at least the title of Ex-Emperor.

A second point in which the British Government was ungenerous was in the money allowance for the expenses of the Emperor's household. Everything in St Helena was four times as dear as in France or England, and 8000*l.* was a sum on which a household of fifty-one persons, accustomed to great luxury, could not exist with ordinary decency. Napoleon himself, even in his greatest days, had never been extravagant. He had felt the bitterness of extreme poverty in his youth, and he was again to experience it in his decline. It was assumed by the British at the time, as it is concluded by Lord Rosebery, that he had large funds at his own disposal, but this does not really seem to have been the case. There was a deposit of 200,000*l.* with Lafitte, the Paris banker; but the trouble was to get at it without revealing its existence to the Bourbon Government, which would certainly have laid hands upon it. Moreover, on at least one occasion, as we know from his mother's letters, drafts of his were dis-

honoured.* A sum of 32,000*l.* was in the hands of Prince Eugène, but this would not go far. The family of Napoleon were by no means well off, and they were hard pressed to find anything beyond the 6,000*l.* a year which the Lafitte deposit appears to have yielded. We do not, then, agree with Lord Rosebery that Napoleon had 'ample funds.' No wonder his followers found it extremely hard to get money out of him. Gourgaud's efforts to obtain a pension for his mother run through a whole volume.

Ultimately the Government saw that the allowance of 8000*l.* was too small, since Lowe could never actually reduce the expenses below 17,000*l.*, a large part of which was provided by Napoleon himself and his followers. The allowance was therefore raised to 12,000*l.* It is only fair to Sir Hudson to say that he made strong representations on this point, and took a considerable risk in sanctioning an expenditure greater than the Government had fixed.

A third grievance—and a legitimate one—was the manner in which Napoleon was housed. Longwood was a miserable, rambling, one-storied building, over-run by rats, and with little accommodation. It was hot and uncomfortable; its environs were shadeless. At last, after long delay, a new house was built for the Emperor, but it was not ready till January 1821, when he was a dying man and not inclined to move. The mere fact that the house was sent out from England and erected is, however, evidence that the complaints of Longwood were justified.

The fourth grievance of the Emperor and his followers was the extreme stringency of the precautions taken to prevent intercourse with the outer world and escape. Lord Rosebery holds that escape was impossible, and that more freedom might have been allowed. But on this point it is difficult to pronounce with certainty. There were plots to rescue the Emperor, though possibly not of a very dangerous nature.

Far more serious complaints than those enumerated were made by Napoleon's followers at the time. It was alleged that Sir Hudson Lowe had approached O'Meara, Napoleon's Irish surgeon, with the suggestion of using poison. The charge has always been received in England with angry incredulity; and it used to be said by the

* Larrey, 'Mme Mère,' ii, 221.

faithful—and this when there was no longer any worldly advantage to be gained by faithfulness. ‘I have made courtiers, not friends,’ he said; but, after all, in what relation stand Montholon and Bertrand to him, if not in that of the truest and bravest of friends? His mask of cynicism is lifted by such facts.

On his public character the course of history has pronounced sentence. He failed and brought ruin upon his country, yet, as we have seen, largely through causes which he could not wholly control—most of all, perhaps, the very greatness of his genius, which, whatever the status of France, must always have rendered him dangerous to the neighbouring Powers. He stimulated the very forces which were to be most fatal to France—the sense of nationality in Italy and Germany, and the growth of the colonial Empire of England. But it was his work to clear the ground for the new edifices of the century. In this sense he was, to use Lord Rosebery’s phrase, ‘the scavenger of God.’ His iron impact made Germany what she has become in our time; and everywhere on the Continent his was eventually a revivifying influence. Nothing, where he had passed, was as it was before.

Was he a good man? asks Lord Rosebery, dubiously: and he answers, though reluctantly, in the affirmative. Morally good, as the saints have understood the phrase, he was not. But he was unmoral rather than immoral, and unmoral because of his unhappy environment. He grew up in an age when religion and morality were making shipwreck in the Revolutionary excesses; and it is small wonder that he was Pagan at heart in his earliest days. Lord Rosebery has traced in his character the development of that spirit which the Greeks called *ὑβρις*, and for which we have no precise English equivalent. But he adds that Napoleon, ‘until he chose to make a demigod of himself . . . was kind, generous, and affectionate; at any rate . . . he was certainly not the reverse.’ Even so measured a panegyric may surprise his detractors; but the latest evidence on Napoleon’s character convinces us that Lord Rosebery errs, if in any direction, upon the safe side.

determine the proportions chargeable to each. That the position of Great Britain in South Africa was challenged by the two Republics is now acknowledged upon all sides; and that the possession at least of the Cape is vital to the Empire needs no profound study of geography to appreciate. Was the war waged to remedy the Uitlanders' grievances, or to wrest the rich gold-fields from the Transvaal, or to defend our general rights as paramount Power, from which the loss or retention of the Cape is certainly inseparable?

There is no difficulty in answering this question. Mr Kruger's ultimatum was the natural outcome of a succession of events which made a struggle for supremacy inevitable. Upon this ground the bill should be entirely paid by this country. But there are other considerations. We have occupied the territory of the Boer Republics, and we have taken possession of what their Governments have left us as State property. We step, in fact, into their shoes, and we are entitled to make the most we can out of the assets that accrue to us. There is a vast difference between turning these to the most profitable account, and making the inhabitants of the country feel the iron heel of the conqueror. Had we restored the Transvaal and the Orange Free State to the Boers, we should have been justified in exacting an indemnity; but, as we have annexed those States, our position is altered. It may be urged that, since the inhabitants would have had to pay an indemnity had Presidents Kruger and Steyn been reinstated, they may with equal justice be made to pay now. But, in that case, the citizens would have had the State property to draw on for the indemnity, whereas now it has become an Imperial asset.

There are strong grounds, however, which warrant our placing a share of the cost of the war on the taxpayers of the Transvaal. The Uitlanders are to be freed from indignities and oppression; the waste of treasure, amounting approximately to 2,000,000*l.* per annum, in secret service, armaments, &c., will cease; the restrictive policy that obtained under the Kruger *régime*, which crippled industrial and mining operations with a view to limiting the foreign population, will disappear; and the fullest development of the resources of the country will be encouraged. But the contribution to be paid in considera-

But, thirdly, good government will ultimately prove of immense commercial benefit to South Africa, and a great saving in the cost of loans may be effected by a judicious use of the Imperial credit; therefore South Africa should contribute a reasonable share of the expense.

Sentimental or moral benefit can hardly be translated into money value, so the share of South Africa's profit that is claimed as a contribution towards expenses can be claimed only on commercial grounds. The gentlemen entrusted with the investigation into the financial outlook in South Africa, with a view to determining the respective shares of expense to be drawn from the different portions of that country, should keep in mind as a guiding principle not only the claims of Great Britain but the progressive future of South Africa. The problem is complex. Upon its solution depend the future relations of South Africa with this country, and the question whether that sub-continent is or is not to absorb a great proportion of our surplus population and of our trade—in fact, whether we are to lay the foundation for the building up of a great nation of South Africans in sympathy with, or in opposition to, the mother country. A share of the burden can no doubt be borne by South Africa without stunting the growth of good feeling towards Great Britain, if its weight be determined with judgment, and the strong arm of our national credit be made available to support the younger land until it has grown strong enough to stand alone.

Irresponsible persons who talk glibly about making the Transvaal mine-owners pay for the war do not realise that the prosperity of South Africa depends almost entirely upon the success of the mining industry, which cannot be crippled without detriment to the whole country; and moreover it should be remembered that any action which hampers the general development hits the bulk of the population, which is poor, much harder than the capitalists at whom it would be aimed, with the disastrous consequence of creating a hostile British as well as a hostile Dutch population. Any such insane policy would be sacrificing the hard-earned fruits of victory—nay, would infallibly produce a repetition of the gruesome spectacle now drawing to a close, or even a secession of the South African colonies from the Empire.

treated, taking all the circumstances into account. If interest and redemption of this sum are reckoned at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., this would involve an annual payment of 290,024*l.* The yearly profits of the Company amounted at the outbreak of the war to about 1,500,000*l.*, out of which debenture holders and shareholders were first paid the guaranteed interest, while 85 per cent. of the balance went to the Transvaal Government, and the remainder was divided between the shareholders and the management. Mr Kruger's Government owned 5,788 of the 14,000 shares issued, and these have become an asset of the Imperial Government. According to official accounts the Government received in 1897 737,366*l.*, and in 1898 668,951*l.*, as its 85 per cent. of surplus profits. The dividends which accrued upon the 5788 shares are probably included in the Interest Account, and amounted roughly to from 50,000*l.* to 60,000*l.* in 1898 (see note on p. 239).

Assuming that, when peace is restored and work fully resumed, the volume of trade and the railway rates will be the same as before the war, and leaving out of account that expansion of commerce which it is hoped that annexation will produce, the annual profit of 1,500,000*l.* would accrue to the British Government, as against a liability of 290,024*l.*,* leaving a net income, beyond what the Transvaal Government derived from this source, of over 500,000*l.*—a valuable aid towards financing the new Crown Colony. That the British Government should acquire the railway and hold it as it were in trust for the benefit of the Transvaal in some form is of great importance, for the railway not only provides a weapon to control the finances of that country, but can be used as a powerful lever in dealing with the neighbouring colonies.

It is evident that the railway has been extravagantly run, and a capable general manager will no doubt succeed in reducing the cost of working the line to less than 50 per cent. of the gross earnings, the proportion at which it stood, roughly speaking, in 1899. The following table gives an interesting comparison between some of the systems working in South Africa.

* Of this sum, 15,700*l.* (roughly) would be refunded on account of the 5,788 shares held by the late Government.

PROPORTION OF WORKING COSTS TO GROSS REVENUE.*

	1899.	1898.	1897.
	Per Cent.	Per Cent.	Per Cent.
Netherlands Railway	49·91	51·46	50·46
Cape Government Railways	65·5	68·1	61·8
Natal Government Railway	59·79	55·46

COMPARATIVE REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE PER TRAIN MILE.

	Revenue per Train Mile.			Costs per Train Mile.		
	1899.	1898.	1897.	1899.	1898.	1897.
Netherlands Railway	s. d. 13 9	s. d. 13 5	s. d. 15 0	s. d. 6 10	s. d. 6 10	s. d. 7 5
Cape Government Railways	7 0	6 7	6 11	4 7	4 6	4 3
Natal Government Railway	7 2	8 8	..	4 3	4 10

Most of the trains entering the Transvaal pass over the Cape and Natal systems, and before crossing the border are raised 3,988 feet and 5,433 feet respectively above sea level, the remainder of the journey being over a comparatively flat country. Only in the case of trains coming from Delagoa Bay are the loads raised to the high plateau *after* entering the Transvaal; so the working costs of the Netherlands Company should upon this ground alone have been lower than those of the Cape and Natal, apart from the fact that the situation of the coal mines is all in favour of the Dutch Company. There would appear to have been grave mismanagement when in such circumstances an expenditure of 6s. 10d. out of a revenue of 13s. 9d. per train mile occurred, as against an expenditure of 4s. 7d. out of a revenue of 7s. per train mile on the Cape system.

The dynamite monopoly originally came into existence as a concession granted to certain persons for the manufacture and sale of explosives in the Transvaal. The mining industry was from the first strongly opposed to the concession, on the ground that, while the State's proportion of profit was ridiculously small, the price charged

* These figures are taken from official reports.

for the explosives supplied to the mines was vastly in excess of the price at which they could have been imported from Europe, and a heavy tax was thus imposed on the mines for the benefit of foreign concessionnaires. The provisions of the concession were proved to have been flagrantly contravened, and after some years of agitation it was in consequence cancelled. Only a very short time elapsed, however, before the concession was revived under the title of a State monopoly in explosives, which under another guise placed the trade again in the hands of the old concessionnaires, upon terms which were in some respects even better than those of the original concession. The British Government protested against the so-called State monopoly, as being a breach of the London Convention; and it would seem reasonable therefore that, having become masters of the country, they should now cancel it. It is unnecessary to enter into details as to the form in which this should be accomplished, whether by a formal cancellation of the monopoly or by simply throwing open the trade in explosives under certain conditions. In any case, without prejudicing the mining industry, a sum of about half a million sterling a year might be added to the receipts of the country by imposing a tax of twenty shillings upon every case of explosives used. Assuming the monopoly to have been cancelled, the charge of twenty shillings a case should be levied not only upon all explosives imported into the country, but also on those manufactured within its boundaries. The land and sea carriage of the bulky materials used in the manufacture of dynamite costs three times as much as the carriage of the manufactured article; whence it may clearly be inferred that cheapness was not the object of establishing a factory in the Transvaal.

Some prominence has recently been given to the *bewaarplaatsen*, the right of mining under which is generally regarded as having belonged to the Transvaal Government. A good deal of misconception exists both as to the nature and value of these areas. When the working of the Witwatersrand gold reefs began, a digger could procure either what was known as a digger's licence or a prospector's licence. It is unnecessary to define the distinction between these two licences further than to state that the former was much more costly than the latter, and was

these areas. It may be definitely stated that, with very few exceptions, the *bewaarplaatsen* cannot be worked at a profit except by the companies whose ground is adjoining, for the simple reason that the quantity of ore contained within the areas is insufficient to pay for separate working; and it may further be definitely stated that the whole of the *bewaarplaatsen* are not worth more than a million sterling. To those familiar with the subject, the visionary value recently placed upon the *bewaarplaatsen* is ludicrous. Should the British Government decide to sell these areas, they will no doubt employ competent engineers to report upon their value; and it will then be found that the estimate given here is not unreasonable.

Finally, amongst the assets to which the British Government succeeds must be reckoned the unallotted lands in the Transvaal. No estimate can yet be formed of the value of these unoccupied areas, which, from an agricultural or pastoral standpoint, cannot be of great importance, or they would not have remained in the hands of the State. But in such a highly mineralised and so imperfectly prospected a country, discoveries may at any time be made, in consequence of which a large and prosperous population may be able to settle upon these untenanted wastes.

A few years ago the greater part of South Africa was in this desolate condition. Although we have had a foothold in the country for the best part of a century, no development of any importance took place until the diamond mines attracted a young and enterprising class of fortune-hunters. Twenty-five years ago the railways, which now cover a distance of five thousand miles, were hardly in existence; and the terminus of the trunk line, now being pushed vigorously on towards the Victoria Falls on the Zambezi River, was at a little village called Wellington, forty-five miles from Cape Town.

The gigantic industrial and commercial advance of the last few years is almost entirely due to the mines, and this advance has largely affected agricultural and pastoral conditions, through the enhanced demand for produce and the consequent rise of prices. If such an increase has taken place under the unpropitious conditions hitherto existing, it may be confidently expected that it will continue under British government, for many years to come, at a still more rapid rate. The consequences to agri-

cultural enterprise must be far-reaching. Lands which could not be profitably worked, undertakings which had no chance of success, in former days, may now promise a secure return to investment. A generation ago, there was neither capital in the colonial treasuries to undertake public works on a large scale—irrigation works, for instance—nor a demand for agricultural produce which would have justified such expenditure. This is the case no longer; and prognostications of failure, based on agricultural difficulties which were mainly due to bygone conditions, must therefore be largely discounted. Agricultural prosperity, in South Africa, depends on industrial and commercial progress; and, if we would encourage the former, we must be careful to foster, at all events not to hinder by excessive demands and restrictions, the latter.

The potentialities of South Africa are appreciated by few in this country. A gold output of twenty millions sterling, capable of great increase under favourable conditions, a diamond output of over four millions sterling, an unlimited supply of coal well distributed over the various divisions of the country, the known existence of a quantity of iron, of lead, of copper, some silver, and some tin—the magnitude of which has yet to be demonstrated—and possible new discoveries in many as yet unprospected regions, constitute an inducement which no other sparsely populated portion of the globe can offer to those in search of fortune. The crying needs of the land, which has practically been allowed to sleep through the ages, are an energetic population and a good government willing to lend a helping hand financially. So long as the mines absorb all the available private capital, the State must assist agriculture. Advances made judiciously, under the advice and control of a body of experts appointed for the purpose, could be adequately secured. The cheapening of commodities and the widening of the field of labour will be one of the chief duties of Government in South Africa, and one by which, politically and commercially, the position of the Empire may be indefinitely strengthened.

Note.—NETHERLANDS RAILWAY.

CALCULATION OF COST OF EXPROPRIATION DURING 1901.

			£	s.	d.
1897.	Dividend—‘A’ 13 per cent.	. . .	119,166	13	4
”	” ‘B’ 11½	” . . .	28,750	0	0
1898.	” ‘A’ 11½	” . . .	107,708	6	8
”	” ‘B’ 10½	” . . .	25,625	0	0
1899.	” ‘A’ 12½	” . . .	114,583	6	8
”	” ‘B’ 11	” . . .	27,500	0	0
Total, three years			£423,333	6	8
Average per annum			£141,111	2	2·6
141,111l. 2s. 2·6d. × 20			2,822,222	4	6
Add 14 times 1 per cent. of 1,166,666l. 13s. 4d.			163,333	6	8
			£2,985,555	11	2
Obligations per Balance Sheet, 31/12/99			7,209,166	13	4
Klerksdorp Line Loan			548,000	0	0
			£10,742,722	4	6

To the above sum must be added the cost of liquidation of the Company, payments to liquidators, legal expenses, &c., involving a small outlay only. On the other hand, large deductions will have to be made on account of damage deliberately done to railway and other property by the officials or agents of the Netherlands Railway Company.

(II.) *Immigration, Agriculture, and Irrigation.*

M. YVES GUYOT, the able editor of the ‘*Siècle*,’ in his book on ‘*Boer Politics*,’ attempts to bring his countrymen into line with us on the South African controversy, by pointing out that the conflict is essentially one between lower and higher types of civilisation. By following the history of our relations with the Boer Republics, he is able to make an effective reply to an article by Dr Kuyper in the ‘*Revue des Deux Mondes*,’ and to show that our action is defensive in character and deserves the support of all lovers of liberty. Amidst the storm of invective and abuse directed against us from the Continent, it is a pleasure to become aware that so influential a voice as that of M. Guyot has made and is still making itself heard in support of our action ; and if the outcome is to establish an industrial civilisation of a higher type as the basis of Africa’s regeneration, even those amongst us who oppose the war may take comfort.

M. Guyot's definition of the issue does not lighten but increases the burden of our responsibility, if we are to deal wisely with the tangle of interests thrust into our hands by President Kruger and his advisers. Fortunately the materials for a correct judgment are not wanting: there are many writers on the South African theme who are more or less trustworthy contributors. One who claims consideration by reason of his intimate knowledge of the subject, and his temperate handling of it, is Dr M. J. Farrelly, who has endeavoured in his book, 'The Settlement after the War in South Africa,' to impress upon us the necessity of finality in that settlement. He writes:—

'The one conclusion which is borne in upon the mind is the necessity of a final settlement, once for all, of the question, Into whose hands is political power to be committed? On the answer to this question depends the whole future of the race in South Africa. . . . The object with which I write, therefore, is to show that above and beyond the rights and wrongs of the particular issue to which Boer and Briton in South Africa are committed, finality in the settlement should be the dominating thought in the minds of the statesmen who will have to decide when the cannon is silent—finality imperatively required to further the mission in the world of the European race, . . . to promote the fusion of the European race in South Africa, . . . to ensure the elevation ultimately, and in the present the just treatment, of the subordinate races. . . . That nothing must be left to the settlement of time alone in this struggle between Imperial British and Republican Dutch supremacy is the one great political fact which I purpose to make clear.'

This is excellent good sense, but Dr Farrelly's political remedies do not strike one as the only or even the best means for solving the practical difficulties of the situation. His demonstration of the Separatist tendencies of Afrikanerism is worthy of all attention, especially on account of his former connexion with the Transvaal Government, though he hardly gives due weight and prominence to Boer hostility and European intrigue as contributory causes of the war; but his proposals dealing with the future settlement will not carry the support of many South Africans, since he turns to the old and discredited safeguards—constitutions, systems of government, Governors—

General, Imperial Councils, and other political machinery, which has broken down so completely in the past. The object being to obtain a higher type of civilisation or a final settlement, how can these be secured by multiplying British institutions, British Governors and British colonies, if the people themselves are not British? Finality, recognised on all sides as absolutely necessary, will be obtained only when South Africa is mainly British and not Dutch; and by British we mean British by blood and not by legal fiction. Dr Farrelly is wholly right when he distinguishes so carefully, in the paragraph we have quoted, between the Imperial British and the Republican Dutch. After the war, the British will remain supporters of the British Empire; the Dutch will remain supporters of their suppressed Republics. A fairly intimate knowledge of our incomparable British constitution and British ideas of liberty did not convert the Smuts, Esselens, and other university graduates, who began life as subjects of the Queen, into enthusiastic supporters of the British flag in South Africa. The closer their acquaintance with our 'higher type,' the greater their hostility; and what has happened in the past will happen in the future, clemency and self-government notwithstanding. The steady trend towards secession will continue, and will be heartily, if secretly, assisted by the Sauers, Moltenos, Hofmeyrs, and other half-foreign politicians elected to rule over our colonies.

In a published address to the women of South Africa their interpreter and mouthpiece, Olive Schreiner, wrote lately :—

'I know not how it is with any of you, but for myself personally, as long as I live, whenever I look into the recesses of my own heart, I shall always see there waving free the gallant flags of those two little Republics, said to have been furled for ever, enshrined there in my sympathies and affections. And if there be in South Africa another two hundred thousand hearts in which those flags are enshrined, then I know the day will come when hands will rise which will in actuality unfurl them, and they will float free across South Africa. We may not live to see it; many of us may go down amid tears and blood and sorrow to our graves, but the future is with the Republicans. . . . The future is ours. Let us, the women of South Africa, keep our eyes steadily fixed on it, and labour for it.'

and the remainder will be foreigners. Natural increase will double these numbers in twenty-five years and give the elements antagonistic to us a gradually increasing numerical majority. Thus we shall lose South Africa unless we can by immigration increase the number of our own people and ensure a continuance of that liberal and progressive legislation which alone can promote an influx of men and money into the country. We cannot afford to lose the control of the ballot-box, which will be the chief agency by which the silent struggle soon to be entered upon will be decided. Whether the Cape Treason Bill, by which a number of Dutch voters will be disfranchised for a period of five years, will suffice to retain the Liberal party in power is a matter of doubt. It may be that even so early as next year the largest and most important member of the proposed South African Federation—the Cape Colony—will fall again under Dutch dominance, and thereby add greatly to the difficulties of the situation. Indirect legislation will be the weapon employed, in the future as in the past, to check the too rapid increase of the Uitlander in the Cape Colony. The scab insect in sheep, phylloxera in the vines, locusts everywhere—these are strange weapons to employ against Anglo-Saxon expansion. But President Kruger, whose direct action was hampered by the Conventions, has given South African politicians some useful lessons in indirect obstructive tactics; and even the insect plagues of South Africa are useful auxiliaries when the advent of white farmers threatens to disturb the political balance. Afrikanerism can exist only by preserving its isolation. This truth was thoroughly understood by politicians like President Kruger and Mr Hofmeyr. When the census results are published even the politicians of the Karoo will comprehend it, and will, while voting money for Imperial battleships, oppose obstacles to immigration—such for example as heavy taxes on joint-stock companies, which, by promoting the development of the country, are stronger supporters of British power than even the navy. Against ‘slimness’ of this kind, awakened by the instinct of self-preservation, mere political safeguards will prove worse than valueless, for they will serve only to conceal the truth and will lull to a false security just when vigilance is most needed. Those who believe otherwise do not know the slow-thinking conservative Boer peasant.

the Dutch dream of a South African Republic a reality. The alien element in the Transvaal has given us not a little trouble already ; and, assuredly, in the absence of those restrictive measures which British statesmen can hardly adopt, our troubles with the foreign vote in the ballot-box will not diminish. This danger cannot be ignored, but it should not be exaggerated. The unrestricted influx of foreigners into the new colonies may give rise to anxiety, both from their probable numbers and their character. But it should be remembered, in the first place, that they are not likely to come unless there is work for them to do ; and that hands are as important as capital for the development of the country. Secondly, if even under the disadvantageous conditions hitherto prevailing, the British element on the Rand largely outnumbered the foreign, it is not likely that the proportions will be reversed under the new *régime*. But, whether this turn out to be the case or not, it is against our principles to restrict immigration ; and if we wished to desert those principles in this case, the difficulties, practical and political, would prove insuperable. We can only hope that prosperity and good government will turn these foreigners into good citizens.

The danger, however, makes it all the more incumbent on us to adopt a wise and liberal policy, designed to attract British immigrants to the new and the old colonies. Several suggestions have already been made. The establishment of agricultural colonies, composed of reservists from the police forces, is one proposal, which the Government is believed to favour ; though all experience and all the probabilities are against the successful and permanent conversion of the adventurous and roving type, found in these irregular forces, into steady and successful small peasant proprietors. Land schemes, such as find favour in other quarters, are as a rule open to the objection that the attraction of the mining and urban centres is too strong to be resisted, and that in a short time the immigrants become dissatisfied and adopt other occupations or leave the country. Against these and similar proposals the general objection holds good that artificial immigration of this character never yet peopled a colony. Owing to the expense, only hundreds can be thus introduced when thousands are needed. Here and there a scheme may be

are the alchemists that will resolve South Africa's troubles. Least in value, but first in power to attract, are its minerals. All measures likely to induce capital to seek its profits in exploiting the country's gold, silver, tin, lead, iron, copper, and coal, its diamonds and sapphires, should be taken. In this field the danger to be guarded against is that prejudice which regards capital as a maleficent agency. Capital is a new country's greatest need. Money attracts men; and minerals, if legislation is not unwise, attract money. Fortunately for the chances of an Anglo-Saxon civilisation in Africa, the development of her minerals has been delayed until now, when the political control has passed to us—if we do not wilfully throw it away.

The subject of South Africa's mineral resources calls for separate discussion. All that need be said here is that a generous policy is essential, not so much for the sake of South Africa as for that of the Empire. When large accessions to the civilian garrison are required to protect the strategic centre of the Empire it is not wise to scrutinise too closely the exact measure of the burdens which the country can support without collapsing. Yet it is possible, if we may judge from the utterances of responsible leaders, that, to save a surplus, the millions we have spent on the war will be lost as effectually as the money we spent to coerce America. A republican South Africa—and, unless we can make the country a contented British State, a republic it will be—will compel the historian of the future to regard the war tax, like the tea tax, amongst the measures that have decided the fate of nations.

We repeat that the fate of South Africa as a British possession will be decided mainly by the steps taken or omitted to further the development of her natural wealth—minerals being in this connexion the most important. After the gold, the immense coal and iron deposits ought to be actively worked, and with the exploitation of these should proceed the development of the country's illimitable agricultural resources. We use the word 'illimitable' advisedly, though doubtless there are many who, gauging the future by the past, condemn South Africa to perpetual barrenness, and believe that, because she has for a generation past imported her food, she must always do so. As the impression is widely spread that there is little to

once cease to be a food-importing country. The effort of an insufficient population to spread itself over and occupy the land is largely responsible for the neglect of agriculture, since the owner of three or four thousand acres finds it easier and more profitable to raise sheep and cattle than to attempt to earn a living by raising crops. The defective means of communication and the immense distances are also to be reckoned among the chief causes why agriculture can scarcely be said to exist in South Africa.

Yet enough has been done to prove that much more can be done. There are very few countries so favoured by nature as the western Cape Colony for the production of great quantities of wine. The rainfall is sufficient, the seasons are favourable, and the soil is fertile; but the efforts of the Dutch cultivators have resulted, after centuries of mistaken methods, in the production mainly of an inferior brandy, which has an unenviable reputation, even in South Africa, as 'Cape Smoke.' It has been demonstrated that the quality of the wine and spirit when scientifically treated is very high; and only capital is needed to develop an industry that will provide lucrative employment for thousands of cultivators. The world, however, is quite ignorant of the dormant wealth of the Cape Colony as a wine-producing country. For example, what European vine-grower is aware that the average annual yield of wine from the coast vineyards is 190 gallons per thousand vines; that in other districts the yield is 400 gallons per thousand vines; and that in some cases as much as 600 gallons are obtained—that is to say, that the yield is five or six times greater than the yield from French vines, and six or seven times greater than it is in Australia or California? A wine expert who was called in to report in 1894 stated that, except in the Constantia district, the farmers did not understand how to make wine; and he predicted, amongst other things, fortunes for the manufacturers of fine cognac. More attention is now being paid to scientific methods of treatment, but the work so far accomplished is almost infinitesimal.

The real cause of the backward condition of viticulture at the Cape is the ignorance and conservatism of the Dutch cultivators. Not until capital and energy are introduced will the neglected wealth of the country as one of the most favoured wine-growing areas in the world be

‘Then you will say, Are there no growers at the Cape? Truly very few; here one, there one, but by no means sufficient to give a character to this magnificent country as a home of fruit-growing—not sufficient, even, to lead by example the prevailing carelessness into better ways. The growth of fruit here has been almost always a by-thing, or what we might call a toy-pursuit of the landowner.’

Every word of this opinion is true; and true not of the Cape Colony only, but of all the British States in South Africa—excepting of course the arid areas in the west, from the Karoo northwards through Bechuanaland as far as the Zambesi. Natal, especially the higher districts about Ladysmith, and Swaziland, farther north, are agriculturally rich, and should in the course of a few years be in a position to supply Europe with choice summer fruits and vegetables in December and January. An article on the ‘Highlands of Natal,’ published in the book already mentioned, ‘British Africa,’ says:

‘The extraordinary facility with which avenues of all sorts can be produced is always one of the pleasantest features of High Natal. The oak grows almost three times, the weeping willow quite four times as fast as in England; the wholesome-smelling tribe of eucalyptus grows from ten to twenty feet a year. . . . The Natal orange has been exported, but as yet on a slight scale; but a quotation from the London agent seems worth giving. Messrs Gillespie and Sons of London wrote: “. . . the mandarins were, without exception, the very finest lot ever seen in our market, the boxes containing only a hundred realising 1½d. each wholesale. This is, we believe, the highest price that has ever been obtained.”’

It would be easy to multiply the evidence bearing on the value of South Africa for fruit-growing—an industry which has been completely neglected, but is nevertheless capable of filling the land with British immigrants. Money, energy, technical knowledge, railways, men, and progressive legislation are needed before anything great can be done; but it should be possible to secure these things after the war—not only for fruit-culture and wine-making, but for the many other promising fields open to agriculturists. In adjunctive agriculture, for instance, such as sheep-, cattle-, and horse-farming, ostrich- and antelope-rearing, there is great scope for experienced men who are prepared

wars. But the road is now open for remedial measures that will tend to bring agriculture to its natural position as the main source of South Africa's wealth.

In this direction so much has yet to be done that it is not easy to specify the reforms most urgently called for. Whatever is done, the extent of the country is such that co-operation between the various States and the Imperial Government is very desirable. There is room for the energies of several Royal Commissions, for not only must data be collected in the new States, but also in such comparatively settled districts as Natal, the Cape, and Rhodesia. The recognised duty of a State Executive, to conserve and develop the natural wealth of its country, has been neglected to a scandalous extent by all the South African Governments, who have left this duty to the people, with the result that, except in the older districts of the Cape, nothing is known of the capabilities of the various soils or the methods best suited for their development. It is obvious that the work of educating the people, and creating those co-operative organisations without which modern agriculture cannot be carried on, is great enough to occupy the time and energies of the Liberal party in South Africa for a great number of years. That party has not yet succeeded, in the Cape Colony, in passing so elementary a measure as a Scab Act for the eradication of that disease in the sheep flocks of the Colony, while such minor reforms as the scientific study of the animal and plant diseases peculiar to the country have hardly been mooted.

As illustrative of the vast extent of the task facing intelligent administrations in South Africa, let us look for a moment at the subject of irrigation and its bearing on the future. Few trustworthy data respecting the rainfall have been collected, but it may be said generally that each section of South Africa has its wet and its dry seasons. In the south and west the rains fall in winter; towards the east and in the new colonies the rains occur in the summer. The highest parts of the country lie not far from the eastern seaboard; and this distribution of the watersheds on the east and south has produced the great basin of the Orange river, some four or five hundred thousand square miles in extent, extending from the boundaries of Natal on the east over half the Cape Colony, the whole of the Orange

obtained to cultivate successfully five million acres; 'and if the value of this area could be increased by even 20% an acre, it follows that the Cape Colony would be permanently enriched by over one hundred millions sterling.'

Obviously, then, the work of conserving the rainfall and utilising the rivers must be taken in hand by the Government. Indian and Californian experience will be of incalculable service in this matter, as those countries have bought the knowledge necessary to command success; and that knowledge is at the service of the Governments of South Africa. The officials of the Cape Colony have made some praiseworthy attempts to awaken their legislature to the value of water, but so far their success has been small, though public opinion is now making itself heard. Mr Newey in the Hydrographic Report mentioned complains that—

'Hitherto the efforts of the Department [Public Works] to meet the felt and stated wants of the people, and to educate them up to the acceptance of better things, have been hidden away between the covers of the blue-books, prepared at very great expense and probably never read by one person in a thousand outside the Houses of Parliament; and I should think that even members of Parliament, for whose information they were primarily prepared and published, might not be cognisant of the representations already put forth.'

With the new *régime* a resolute attempt should be made to demonstrate to the people the value of their rainfall, and not of their rainfall alone. The rains, being of sub-tropical violence, carry vast quantities of soil into the rivers, to be wasted in the sea. There is hardly a farm in South Africa where a little judicious work directed towards dispersing the surface waters and preventing their disappearance in dongas and water-courses would not do much to prevent that denudation which has hitherto gone on unchecked, to the great detriment of the country. Such work would soon have an appreciable effect on the quantity of subterranean waters available, though South Africa can already be described as a country with subterranean rivers. The dolomitic limestones in the Transvaal and Bechuanaland favour the accumulation of great subterranean reservoirs, which may yet prove to be the means of rescuing the Kalihari Desert for the service of humanity. Work done

and work, will find an excellent account of it, in a brief compass, in Mr Chalmers Mitchell's pages.

Huxley's own estimate of his position in the scientific world is given in a letter to the Bishop of Ripon (1887):—

‘As for me, in part from force of circumstance and in part from a conviction I could be of most use in that way, I have played the part of something between maid-of-all-work and gladiator-general for Science’ (ii, 162).

He thus placed his public duties and, above all, his struggle to uphold ‘the dignity and the freedom of science,’ before his scientific discoveries; and, significant as these were, it is impossible to feel that he was mistaken.

Almost at the outset of his career, Huxley was deeply impressed by the utter carelessness of scientific requirements, and the frequent contempt for scientific work, which prevailed in the British Government Services. The *Rattlesnake*, the surveying ship on which he was surgeon, sailed ‘without a volume on science,’ in spite of the captain's application. On the voyage itself, Huxley says:

‘The singular disrespect, with which the majority of naval officers regard everything that lies beyond the sphere of routine, tends to produce a tone of feeling very unfavourable to scientific exertions. How can it be otherwise, in fact, with men who, from the age of thirteen, meet with no influence but ~~that~~ which teaches them that the “Queen's regulations and instructions” are the law and the prophets, and something more?’ (i, 49).

When Huxley returned home and was working out his material, he found it impossible to get a small grant for publication. In returning thanks as a medallist at the Royal Society dinner, on November 30th, 1852, he said:

‘The Government of this country, of this *great* country, has been two years debating whether it should grant the three hundred pounds necessary for the publication of these researches’ (i, 104).

Twenty-one years later he wrote to Professor Anton Dohrn, who was then founding the Zoological Station at Naples:

‘I only wish I could see England represented among the applicants for tables. But you see England is so poor’ (i, 399).

which he wrote to the then Director, Sir W. H. Flower, in 1891 :

‘ My “ next worst thing ” was promoting a weak man to a place of responsibility in lieu of a strong one, on the mere ground of seniority. *Cæteris paribus*, or even with approximate equality of qualifications, no doubt seniority ought to count; but it is mere ruin to any service to let it interfere with the promotion of men of marked superiority, especially in the case of offices which involve much responsibility ’ (ii, 295).

So far as the Trustees are able to make occasional exceptions in appointment or advancement they of course create a grievance in the minds of the most deserving among those who have been subject to the mechanical system. Here is a cause in which we may well invoke a double portion of Huxley’s spirit to aid us in sweeping away the sterile influences which unfortunately hold sway in a noble institution. On June 7th, 1887, Huxley had an interview by appointment with Lord Salisbury, then Prime Minister. He took some very interesting notes immediately after the interview (ii, 164, 165), which was significant of a desire on the part of the Government formally to recognise achievement in science, letters, and art. The difficulties of official recognition were well put by Huxley; and from the point of view of the scientific man such a movement, as well as the conferment of rank or nobility, to which Huxley also objected, would be of doubtful advantage. But from the point of view of public advantage it would seem to be the duty of a man of science always to help, in however small a degree, the Government and Services to maintain and increase their contact with scientific workers and thinkers.

The requirements of space prevent any further consideration on the present occasion of Huxley’s public duties—of his services to education, of his work on Royal Commissions, of his tenure of important offices in the scientific world, including the most important of all, the Presidency of the Royal Society. In these positions ‘ the freedom and the dignity of science ’ was the cause which he ever served with unfailing energy and conscientiousness. Although Huxley was immersed in these public duties, and was much hampered by ill-health, he had the keenest enthusiasm for research. His enquiries were not

augurated in 1872 (ii, 411). But an imperfect picture of the man would be given if his isolation and aloofness from general zoological enquiry were not insisted on as a very marked feature.

It is impossible within the limits of our space to give an adequate account of his numerous scientific memoirs, many of which laid the foundation of later advance. As Mr Mitchell truly says of his work on the Medusae and the allied groups,

“Just as the superstructures of a great building conceal the foundations, so later anatomical work, although it only amplified and extended Huxley’s discoveries, has made them seem less striking to the modern reader’ (pp. 34, 35);

and the same words might be used of many of his other papers. Rather than attempt the discussion of these, the object of the present writer will be briefly to set forth the relation of Huxley to the ideas for which he did so much, and which did so much for him—the doctrine of evolution and its suggested motive cause in the hypothesis of natural selection. These ideas largely controlled and modified his life from the end of 1859, illuminating and directing the lines of his zoological and palæontological researches, and inspiring the noble stand which he so successfully made against all those influences which tend to restrain the most perfect freedom in the search for truth, and the free expression of the conclusions to which that research may lead.

Those who have been inclined to belittle the hypothesis of natural selection, now that the battle of evolution is won, should reflect upon the waste of speculation in which the greatest minds of their age were wandering, until guided by the light which first appeared to Darwin and Wallace. So we find even Darwin thus explaining the extinction of species by causes operating from within: ‘As with the individual, so with the species, the hour of life has run its course, and is spent.’ Just as the length of the life of an individual, if not terminated prematurely by accidental causes, is predetermined in the structure of the first cell, so Darwin, in the days before natural selection occurred to him, seems to have imagined that the life of a species is predetermined in the structure of the first individuals that compose it. In other words, both indi-

This opinion is a revelation to anyone who has seen Macleay's extraordinary diagrams; and it is almost a relief to find from his later writings that Huxley upon the whole came to prefer an agnostic attitude towards evolution and its causes. When, however, later on, evolution was 'in the air,' and natural selection had been before the world for nearly a year, although as yet unfamiliar to Huxley, a letter to Sir Charles Lyell, written on June 25th, 1859, indicates that his only hope of a solution at that time still lay in his old comparison with the definite proportions of chemistry (i, 173, 174).

The isolation which was so remarkable in Huxley is apparent in the history of the famous years 1858 and 1859. Although the hypothesis of natural selection was thoroughly explained to the world in the joint paper of Darwin and Wallace read before the Linnean Society July 1st, 1858, and although Darwin had long before this explained his ideas to Hooker, Lyell, and Asa Gray, Huxley tells us that the thought which was uppermost in his mind when he had read the 'Origin,' in November 1859, was: 'How extremely stupid not to have thought of that!'^{*} and his letter to Lyell, alluded to in the previous paragraph, shows that natural selection was then unknown to him. His letter to Hooker on September 5th, 1858, proves that he had a general idea that great changes were impending, for it contains the words, 'Wallace's impetus seems to have set Darwin going in earnest, and I am rejoiced to hear that we shall learn his views in full, at last. I look forward to a great revolution being effected' (i, 159). But an excellent abstract of Darwin's views had already been given to the world; and a few weeks later a paper by Canon Tristram appeared in 'The Ibis' (October 1st, 1858) accepting the principle of natural selection and applying it to the explanation of the colours of Saharan birds.

The 'Origin' convinced Huxley once for all as to the sufficiency of the evidence for evolution, and the probability of natural selection as its explanation. He instantly foresaw the struggle which would come, and braced himself to bear the brunt of it. He fought with all the more vigour and spirit because the contest was not only for fair play to evolution but for the much wider

^{*} 'Life and Letters of Charles Darwin,' ii, 197.

to hear such a vigorous defence of Darwin. Even ten years later Professor Rolleston wrote the most carefully-guarded sentences concerning evolution in the introduction to his 'Forms of Animal Life' (1870, p. xxv). One interesting and curious feature of the record is the fact that the published accounts of the successful repulse of the Bishop have been so largely contributed by the clergy. We owe most of our knowledge of the great contest to Canon Farrar of Durham, Canon Fremantle, and J. R. Green; more recently Canon Tuckwell has written an account which represents the more doubtful view of Huxley's success. It may be worth while, in considering the attitude of Oxford on this famous occasion, to recall the fact that Professor Baden Powell, in his essay 'On the Evidences of Christianity,' written soon after the appearance of Darwin's great book, and before the meeting of the British Association, calls it 'a work which must soon bring about an entire revolution of opinion in favour of the grand principle of the self-evolving powers of nature.'*

Although Huxley became, as he himself expressed it, 'Darwin's bull-dog,' and did more than any other man to secure a fair hearing for the new views, he by no means committed himself to the entire acceptance of natural selection. From the very first, and from time to time down to the end of his life, he wrote and said that the evidence in favour of this hypothesis was insufficient. It would be easy, if space permitted, to support this statement by a series of quotations from his speeches and writings, showing that his opinion on this subject never wavered during the thirty-four years between the publication of the 'Origin' and his speech at the Royal Society dinner on November 30th, 1894. But in spite of this want of entire confidence in natural selection, Huxley was enabled by its aid to accept evolution. He had been an agnostic as regards evolution, because 'firstly... the evidence in favour of transmutation was wholly insufficient,' and secondly because 'no suggestion respecting the causes of the transmutation assumed, which had been made, was in any way adequate to explain the phenomena.' As regards the first difficulty, Darwin completely convinced him in chapters ix-xii of the 'Origin,' while the second was removed by natural

* 'Essays and Reviews,' 7th ed. (1861), p. 139.

selection, even if the hypothesis itself should ultimately be disproved; for—

‘if we had none of us been able to discern the paramount significance of some of the most patent and notorious of natural facts, until they were, so to speak, thrust under our noses, what force remained in the dilemma—creation or nothing? It was obvious that, hereafter, the probability would be immensely greater, that the links of natural causation were hidden from our purblind eyes, than that natural causation should be incompetent to produce all the phenomena of nature.’ *

It is of great interest to consider the flaw in the experimental proof of the validity of natural selection which affected Huxley’s opinion so powerfully, and to attempt to determine whether he was entirely justified in his reserved and cautious attitude. The different races of animals into which a species is often broken up are fertile *inter se*; nearly related species when paired produce hybrids which are themselves sterile *inter se*; distantly related species when paired cannot produce offspring at all. By artificial selection man has broken up a species, such as the ancestor of our fowls or pigeons, into sets of forms which are often as different structurally as widely separated species, and yet remain functionally mere races, mutually fertile and reproductive. In order to prove that natural selection has produced the functional gaps between existing species, Huxley maintained that we ought to be able to produce the same sterility between our artificially selected breeds; and until this had been done he could not thoroughly accept the theory of natural selection. This objection is expressed in many of his writings, one of the simplest statements being in a letter to the late Charles Kingsley:—

‘Their produce [viz. that of Horse and Ass] is usually a sterile hybrid. So if Carrier and Tumbler, *e.g.*, were physiological species equivalent to Horse and Ass, their progeny ought to be sterile or semi-sterile. So far as experience has gone, on the contrary, it is perfectly fertile—as fertile as the progeny of Carrier and Carrier or Tumbler and Tumbler. From the first time I

* ‘Life and Letters of Charles Darwin,’ vol. ii, p. 198; chapter by T. H. Huxley, ‘On the Reception of the “Origin of Species.”’

are still partially fertile in that they can produce hybrid offspring. When our domestic breeds of pigeons have been entirely prevented from interbreeding for some immense period of time, we may expect that they too will only produce sterile hybrids, and later still not even these. At present the majority of these breeds are not everywhere rigidly prevented from interbreeding, so that an approximation to natural species-formation has not even begun. There are others, however, such as the most widely different breeds of dogs, in which the divergence in size is so extreme that interbreeding has probably been a mechanical impossibility for some considerable time. The sexual nuclei of such breeds could be brought together by artificial means, and it would be of the highest interest to obtain a careful record of the degree of mutual fertility.

If, then, we cannot as yet reproduce by artificial selection all the characteristics of natural species-formation, but can only imitate natural race-formation, we can nevertheless appreciate the reasons for this want of success, and are no more compelled to relinquish our full confidence in natural selection than we are compelled to adopt a guarded attitude towards evolution because our historical records are not long enough to register the change of one species into another.

Another point upon which Huxley felt doubtful, and expressed his doubt in a letter to Darwin (i, 175, 176), is the rejection in the 'Origin' of *per saltum* or discontinuous evolution. An interesting letter to Sir Charles Lyell (June 25th, 1859) shows that this conclusion ran counter to his preconceived views; for in it he argued that '*transmutation* may take place without transition' (i, 173, 174). He stated this objection in the 'Westminster' in 1860, but did not continue to refer to it; and it is possible that his palæontological researches gradually led him to modify his conclusions. Whether new species arise by sudden changes in structure or by gradual transition is a question capable of decision by a sufficient study of the records preserved in the rocks; and, although this record is as a whole extremely imperfect, certain parts of it are remarkably complete. In these latter the smooth and continuous passage of skeletal structures from an older parent form through a series of *types* in the *series* lying

publish a monograph upon so rare and treasured a form as *Spirula*, and one from which so much was expected. Finally, in 1893, he handed over his plates, with an explanation of them, to Professor Pilseneer of Ghent, who wrote the paper for the 'Reports' (ii, 360-362). The paper is illustrated by Huxley's plates, and appears under their joint names, Huxley consenting to Pilseneer's wish that this should be the case.

The authors of the two biographies, both Oxford men, do scant justice to their university as regards the teaching of science. Oxford has lost so much by spending immense sums on laboratories before it was known how best to construct them, that she might at least have the credit of her misfortunes. This Mr Leonard Huxley would withhold from her (ii, 110); while Mr Chalmers Mitchell implies that Rolleston's students did not themselves dissect the animals chosen as types of the chief divisions (p. 179). The true history of the type-system of instruction is given in the 'Life and Letters' (i, 377, 378), where Professor Lankester expresses the opinion 'that Rolleston was influenced in his plan by your father's advice. But Rolleston had the earlier opportunity of putting the method into practice.' This important system of teaching, which has influenced the study of natural history far and wide, was begun at Oxford about 1861, while Rolleston published his notes as 'Forms of Animal Life' in 1870. Huxley's classes began in 1871, while the 'Practical Instruction in Elementary Biology,' by him and H. N. Martin, first appeared in 1875. It is true that Rolleston's unfortunately pedantic style prevented his work from producing a far-reaching influence like that exerted by the luminous and perfectly simple descriptions of which Huxley was a master.

There are a few obvious mistakes in detail in the 'Life and Letters.' Professor Lankester is described as a Fellow of University instead of Exeter (i, 408). Wilfrid Ward's statement that Frank Balfour was at Eton, instead of Harrow, is quoted without correction (ii, 397). There are also some uncorrected errors in H. F. Osborn's account of Huxley's speech in seconding the vote of thanks to Lord Salisbury at the meeting of the British Association at Oxford in 1894 (ii, 376, 377). The occasion was not 'Huxley's last public appearance,' nor had he 'spoken his last word as champion of the law of evolution': these statements

were true of his speech nearly four months later at the Royal Society dinner on November 30th. Professor Osborn also speaks of the D.C.L. gown 'placed upon his shoulders by the very body of men who had once referred to him as "a Mr Huxley."' The words were really used by the 'Times,' as Mr Mitchell correctly states (p. 66). Among the few mistakes in Mr Mitchell's work is the statement that Huxley made several trips to America (p. 276): he made but a single visit, in 1876, when the 'American Addresses' were delivered.

It has been commonly believed that Huxley's extraordinary success as a speaker was the outcome of practice rather than natural capacity. The late Professor Rolleston even pointed to Huxley's success as an example from which encouragement might be derived by poor lecturers, showing the heights which may gradually be attained by patient trial and long experience. This opinion appears to have been held by Huxley himself, and is expressed in the 'Life' (e.g. vol. i, pp. 87, 88, 413), and by Mr Mitchell (pp. 208, 209). It is of course true that great improvement in speaking may be effected by practice, but it would be holding out false hopes to the beginner to suggest that anything approaching the remarkable power exhibited by Huxley could be attained except by the fortunate possessor of an innate faculty at a very unusual level of development. Experience enabled Huxley to control his natural nervousness, and thus to give his power free play; but the power itself was one of 'the things that are inborn and cannot be taught,' to use his own words as applied to 'energy and intellectual grip' (ii, 320). There is evidence that he was successful from the very first, and that to the end he retained the strong feeling, essential to the finest oratory, that in speaking he was undertaking no light task, but something serious and difficult, demanding close concentration, and even then entered upon almost with a sense of impending failure.

A very interesting account of his feelings on the occasion of his first lecture is given in a letter to Miss Heathorn (i, 98). He was just twenty-seven at the time. Writing on April 30th, 1852, he says:—

'I have just returned from giving my lecture at the Royal Institution, of which I told you in my last letter. I had got very nervous about it, and my poor mother's death had greatly

upset my plans for working it out. It was the first lecture I had ever given in my life, and to what is considered the best audience in London. As nothing ever works up my energies but a high flight, I had chosen a very difficult abstract point, in my view of which I stand almost alone. [The subject was 'On Animal Individuality.'] When I took a glimpse into the theatre and saw it full of faces, I did feel most amazingly uncomfortable. I can now quite understand what it is to be going to be hanged, and nothing but the necessity of the case prevented me from running away. However, when the hour struck, in I marched, and began to deliver my discourse. For ten minutes I did not quite know where I was, but by degrees I got used to it, and gradually gained perfect command of myself and of my subject. I believe I contrived to interest my audience, and upon the whole I think I may say that this essay was successful. Thank Heaven I can say so, for though it is no great matter succeeding, failing would have been a bitter annoyance to me. It has put me comfortably at my ease with regard to all future lecturings. After the Royal Institution there is no audience I shall ever fear.'

Remembering that this account is written by one who was extremely critical of his own achievements, it cannot be doubted that Huxley possessed natural capacity for speaking of a very high order. Seventeen years later he wrote to Professor Prestwich :—

'There is no doubt public-dinner speaking (and indeed all public speaking) is nervous work. I funk horribly, though I never get the least credit for it. But it is like swimming, the worst of it is in the first plunge' (i, 311).

A few years before his death he was asked, late in the afternoon of St Andrew's Day, to propose the health of the medallists at the Royal Society dinner the same evening. Throughout the dinner it was obvious to those who watched him that he was, with much effort and concentration, preparing for the fine speech which he afterwards made.

Apart from the natural gift of speech his great success depended upon his presentation of the subject in the simplest and clearest manner. We are told that—

'an unfriendly critic once paid him an unintended compliment, when trying to make out that he was no great speaker; that all he did was to set some interesting theory unadorned before

his audience, when such success as he attained was due to the compelling nature of the subject itself' (i, 467, 468).

Certainly no higher praise could be bestowed on a speaker whose task it is to instruct and to inspire interest than this: 'He displays his subject rather than himself.' The common mistake of the fluent speaker, who feels no sense of effort or nervousness, is to cover up and obscure his subject by over-indulgence in rhetoric. This explanation of Huxley's success probably also accounts for such a failure as that in his early days at an institute in St John's Wood, whose members petitioned 'not to have that young man again' (i, 88). The success of a lecture rests largely with the audience; and even now audiences are to be found incapable of being interested by a scientific subject, however clearly it may be set before them.

Perhaps the greatest of Huxley's lectures was delivered as one of the two evening discourses at the meeting of the British Association at York, in 1881: it is very inadequately treated in the 'Life,' where it is spoken of as if he had read a paper at one of the sectional meetings (ii, 34). He chose as his subject the 'Rise and Progress of Palæontology,' and lectured without a note. Huxley afterwards told Mr G. Griffith, the Secretary of the Association, that the discourse had never been written down in any form, explaining, however, that he had reflected much upon the subject. The lecture produced a very deep impression, and many must have felt what was expressed to the present writer at the conclusion, that no one else could have presented the subject as Huxley had presented it. The address was afterwards printed, and may be found in 'Collected Essays' (iv, p. 24).

It is not necessary to consider at any length Huxley's power and style as a writer of English. Everyone is familiar with it, and differences of opinion will exist upon this as upon all questions of form. Mr Chalmers Mitchell, after an interesting discussion (pp. 213-217), concludes that he 'produced his effects by the ordering of his ideas and not by the ordering of his words; . . . he is one of our great English writers, but he is not a great writer of English.' It is probable that the majority of readers will emphatically disagree with this conclusion. The 'Life and Letters' make it certain that Huxley felt 'the sedulous

concern for words themselves as things valuable and delightful, the delight of the craftsman in his tools,' which Mr Mitchell, in the absence of this new evidence, considers that he lacked (p. 215). The same work shows that the easy and pleasant reading of his compositions meant, as usual, 'hard writing.' In 1854, when Huxley had been partially supporting himself by writing for some years, he said, in a letter to his sister (i, 118), 'My pen is not a very facile one, and what I write costs me a good deal of trouble.' In 1882 he wrote to Romanes :—

'My own way is to write and re-write things, until by some sort of instinctive process they acquire the condensation and symmetry which satisfies me. And I really could not say how my original drafts are improved until they somehow improve themselves' (ii, 39).

Within four years of the end of his life he wrote to H. de Varigny :—

'The fact is that I have a great love and respect for my native tongue, and take great pains to use it properly. Sometimes I write essays half-a-dozen times before I can get them into the proper shape; and I believe I become more fastidious as I grow older' (ii, 291).

There can be no question that this labour of love and duty produced an admirable result. Huxley's essays and addresses contain many pages which for purity, terseness, vigour, and comprehension of the English language, are hardly to be surpassed by any writer of the Victorian age.

We may conclude this brief account of some aspects of a great man with the words of Professor E. Ray Lankester : 'I feel that the world has shrunk and become a poor thing, now that his splendid spirit and delightful presence are gone from it' (ii, 423). At the same time his memory is with us to encourage us in the warfare on behalf of science, which he carried on so unflinchingly, the struggle which is as necessary now, at the opening of a new century, as in the past, to bring about the most favourable conditions for the pursuit of truth, and to make the people heed the truth when it has been found.



Art. XII.—THE NICARAGUAN CANAL.

THE rough handling, which the treaty negotiated by Lord Pauncefote and Mr Hay early in last year has experienced at the hands of the United States Senate, has caused a natural feeling of resentment in this country. It was generally believed that the attitude which the British Government took up at the time of the Spanish-American War merited and would receive some return, in a more sympathetic appreciation of a policy which has never been intentionally hostile to America, and in a willingness to meet us halfway where the interests of the two countries are opposed. But neither in Alaska nor yet in Central America do the people of the United States appear disposed to abate a tittle of what they regard as their strict rights on the score of friendship; and in the latter case bitterness is added to the pill by the manner of its administration. The discourtesy of an attempt to 'supersede' an international agreement by one of the parties, without consultation with the other, must have been patent to a large number of those who voted in the majority which carried the amendments to the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. Yet for some reason they preferred to risk the ill-will which their conduct might be expected to engender rather than give effect to the carefully considered work of two able and experienced diplomatists.

The motives which decided the fate of the treaty were probably extremely diverse. With some members of the Senate the belief that American interests demanded the Americanising of the canal was, we do not doubt, the main influence. The vote of many more was secured, it may be surmised, by railway interests acting upon party organisation, in the hope that the transformed treaty would not be acceptable to Great Britain, and that the construction of the canal would be delayed in consequence. With the representatives of the Western States of the Union it is possible that mere dislike of this country was the predominant feeling, and that they regarded the present opportunity of giving us 'another fall' too good to be lost. The Western States, which contain a large percentage of inhabitants of other than Anglo-Saxon origin, have always shown more hostility towards us than the States.

American politicians to view with jealousy claims on the part of other countries in Central America which might conflict with the interests of the United States. At that time the only fruits which remained of repeated efforts on the part of William Paterson, the founder of the Bank of England, and other British merchants, to found colonies on and about the isthmus, consisted of the settlement of British Honduras on the Guatemalan coast, including a claim to the Bay Islands, which was disputed by the States, and a protectorate over the eastern sea-board of Nicaragua, which was inhabited by the Mosquito Indians.

In 1846 Lord Palmerston, becoming Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on the fall of Sir Robert Peel's ministry, commenced a vigorous assertion of British claims in Central America, his policy being directed to securing the predominance of Great Britain in the neighbourhood of the San Juan river and Lake Nicaragua. The vigour with which he pushed his efforts led to a conflict with Nicaragua, and subsequently to a treaty by which that State surrendered to the Mosquitos its claims to the town of San Juan, now known as Greytown. The immediate consequence was an outburst of hostile feeling in the United States, whose Government at once despatched an agent, Elijah Hise by name, to enter into negotiations with Nicaragua. Hise, contrary to his instructions, concluded an agreement without consulting the authorities at Washington. By the terms of this treaty—the Selva-Hise Convention of 1849—Nicaragua undertook to allow to the United States, or to a company to which a charter should be granted by the United States Government, the exclusive right to construct a canal from the Caribbean Sea to the Pacific Ocean, and to cede so much land as might be required for the purpose. The United States and Nicaraguan warships were to pass through the canal free of charge, but for all other vessels such tolls were to be exacted as the body constructing the canal should deem necessary. The United States Government was to be permitted to build fortifications for the protection of the works, and in return was to guarantee Nicaragua from foreign aggression. This treaty was not ratified, owing to the convention made between Great Britain and the United States in the following year.

In consequence of this effort to circumvent British

to which reference has already been made, Mr Laurence had objected to that claim, and also to the British occupation of Greytown. He maintained that in order to give full confidence to the capitalists of Europe and America, neither the United States nor Great Britain should exercise any political power over the Indians, or any of the States of Central America.

‘The occupation of Greytown,’ he said, ‘and the attempt to establish a protected independence in Mosquito, throw at once obstacles in the way, excite jealousies, and destroy confidence, without which capital can never flow into this channel.’

In the course of the negotiations the Americans were very urgent that the protectorate should be surrendered, and the Mosquito territory incorporated in the State of Nicaragua on such terms as to the rights of the Indians as should commend themselves to the British Government. They asserted that the governing council was composed entirely of Englishmen, and that, therefore, to maintain the claim would look like an attempt on the part of Great Britain to evade her obligations under the treaty. Lord Palmerston refused to yield the point, though he promised that no advantage detrimental to the United States should be taken by this country of her position ; and, in order that there should not be any subsequent question with regard to this matter, some words were added to the original draft at the instigation of Sir Henry Bulwer. The United States, however, continued to press for the abolition of the protectorate, on the ground that such a control ‘must, from the nature of things, be an absolute submission of these Indians to the British Government, as in fact it has ever been’ ; and that it was therefore necessarily opposed to the spirit of the treaty. Lord Clarendon met the complaint by pointing out that, since the actual language of the document recognised the possibility of protection, the intention of the contracting parties obviously was ‘not to prohibit or abolish, but to limit and restrict such protectorate.’ Nevertheless, in order to ease relations which were becoming somewhat strained, Great Britain entered into agreements by which she ceded the Bay Islands to Honduras in 1859, and the Mosquito coast to Nicaragua in 1860, the latter State undertaking not to interfere with the internal affairs of the Indians. The treaty of 1860

was supplemented by another two years later; and the privileges reserved to the Mosquitos were the subject of an arbitration between this country and Nicaragua in 1881, when the present Emperor of Austria acted as arbitrator.

In 1880 Congress passed a resolution calling upon President Garfield to take steps to obtain the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; and Mr Blaine, who was then Secretary of State, entered into correspondence with the British Foreign Office with a view to securing that object. He failed, however, as did also his successor, Mr Freylinghuysen, who was Secretary in President Arthur's administration. The latter, indeed, concluded another convention with Nicaragua on lines somewhat similar to those adopted in the treaty of 1849 between the same parties. Under the Freylinghuysen-Zevalla Treaty, Nicaragua was to cede to the United States a strip of territory, ten miles wide, for the site of the canal, and the United States in return were to make a loan to Nicaragua of four million dollars, and to engage to protect Nicaraguan territory against external aggression. But, mainly on the ground of the last provision, the treaty was thrown over when Mr Cleveland came into power in 1885. There was no farther correspondence between the British and United States Governments on the subject until two years ago. The negotiations then begun resulted in the Hay-Pauncefote Convention (signed February 5th, 1900), the terms of which are as follows:—

Art. I. It is agreed that the canal may be constructed under the auspices of the Government of the United States, either directly at its own cost, or by gift or loan of money to individuals or corporations or through subscription to or purchase of stock or shares, and that, subject to the provisions of the present Convention, said Government shall have and enjoy all the rights incident to such construction, as well as the exclusive right of providing for the regulation and management of the canal.

Art. II. The High Contracting Parties, desiring to preserve and maintain the "general principle" of neutralisation established in Article VIII of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, adopt, as the basis of such neutralisation, the following rules, substantially as embodied in the Convention between Great Britain and certain other powers, signed at Constantinople

20th October, 1888, for the free navigation of the Suez Maritime Canal, that is to say :—

1. The canal shall be free and open, in time of war as in time of peace, to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any nation or its citizens or subjects in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic, or otherwise.

2. The canal shall never be blockaded, nor shall any right of war be exercised, nor any act of hostility committed within it.

3. Vessels of war of a belligerent shall not revictual or take any stores in the canal except so far as may be strictly necessary ; and the transit of such vessels through the canal shall be effected with the least possible delay in accordance with the regulations in force, and with only such intermission as may result from the necessities of the service. Prizes shall be in all respects subject to the same rules as vessels of war of the belligerents.

4. No belligerent shall embark or disembark troops, munitions of war, or warlike materials in the canal except in case of accidental hindrance of the transit, and in such cases the transit shall be resumed with all possible despatch.

5. The provisions of this Article shall apply to waters adjacent to the canal within three marine miles of either end. Vessels of war of a belligerent shall not remain in such waters longer than twenty-four hours at any one time except in case of distress, and in such case shall depart as soon as possible ; but a vessel of war of one belligerent shall not depart within twenty-four hours from the departure of a vessel of war of the other belligerent.

6. The plant, establishment, buildings, and all works necessary to the construction, maintenance, and operation of the canal shall be deemed to be part thereof, for the purposes of this Convention, and in time of war as in time of peace shall enjoy complete immunity from attack or injury by belligerents and from acts calculated to impair their usefulness as part of the canal.

7. No fortifications shall be erected commanding the canal or the waters adjacent. The United States, however, shall be at liberty to maintain such military police along the canal as may be necessary to protect it against lawlessness and disorder.

Art. III. The High Contracting Parties will, immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications of this Convention, bring

it to the notice of other Powers and invite them to adhere to it.

It will be observed that this convention preserves and amplifies the neutrality clauses of the Clayton-Bulwer Convention, merely modifying the terms of that document (Art. I) as to the right of construction and control: the other clauses of the older treaty remain intact. To such an alteration this country could not well have taken objection, nor had it any disposition to do so. The treaty of 1850 contemplated the construction of the waterway by private enterprise; but fifty years of inactivity at Nicaragua and the failure of the Panama Canal Company seem to show that this stupendous task must be undertaken by a nation and not left to private effort, if it is to be completed within reasonable limits of time. In these circumstances it would have been an impracticable as well as a selfish policy to oppose a change needful to American interests, and not directly detrimental to our own.

But the amendments adopted by the United States Senate have considerably altered the state of the case. In the first place, the Clayton-Bulwer Convention is declared to be 'hereby [*i.e.* by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty] superseded.' Secondly, the first five clauses of Art. II are declared to be of no effect in case the defence of the United States is in question. Thirdly, the invitation to other powers to become parties to the principles set forth in the treaties is cancelled. Several other amendments were proposed but rejected. By one of these the American Government was to be enabled to impose discriminating tolls in favour of American manufactures and shipping in certain cases; but such a principle was too obviously in conflict with the main purpose of the treaties and the general trend of public opinion to be accepted even by such a body as the American Senate.

Deferring for a moment the consideration of these amendments, let us consider the value of the canal in peace and in war to the United States and to Europe respectively. Commercially, the project will not, we fear, be an unmixed gain to the Old World. Indeed, it is probably not too much to say that Europe has more to fear from the mere existence of the projected waterway than from any conditions imposed upon its usage. We could

not, however, prohibit the construction, even if we would ; and we must be content with endeavouring to prevent any power from acquiring an advantage which its natural position would not give to it. We cannot alter the fact that this junction of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans will bring the manufacturing cities of the United States some thousands of miles nearer to the consumer in China or Japan than Manchester and Liverpool are at present ; and the rejection of the amendment in favour of discriminatory tolls secures us, for the present at least, against any artificial increase of the advantage which will naturally accrue to the American trader in his dealings with the inhabitants of those countries and of the western sea-board of South America.

So far as Europe is concerned, the canal will afford a nearer route to the Pacific littoral of North and South America, to the South Sea Islands, and perhaps to New Zealand. But the reduction which it will effect in the distances to eastern markets will be all in favour of the United States. Through the Suez Canal the ocean route from Great Britain is closer than that from the eastern seaboard of the United States to Australia, China, and Japan, by between two and three thousand miles. When the Nicaraguan canal is built, the cities of the Atlantic seaboard of North America will have the advantage of us in point of distance by from one to three thousand miles ; and American merchants and politicians are looking to this reversal of space conditions to assist them in reducing British commercial supremacy in the Far East.* The Nicaraguan Canal will therefore not confer the same commercial advantages upon Great Britain and Europe generally as it will on American manufacturers. European trade to the East will for the most part go, as it has gone hitherto, through the Suez Canal ; the factories on the eastern coast of North America will send their goods for consumption in the East by way of Nicaragua instead of by Cape Horn or across country by rail, thus saving either thousands of miles of sea journey or the cost of trans-shipment. In 1896 the United States shipping passing through Suez was only 194,000 tons, and in 1898

* Cf. the 'Times' for January 10th, 1901, published after this article was in type.

less than 316,000 tons, out of a total traffic of over 12,000,000 tons, the British proportion for the years 1896, 1897, and 1898 being 68 per cent., 67·3 per cent., and 68·2 per cent. The proportions of shipping passing through the Nicaraguan Canal will doubtless be the reverse of these.

The importance of an isthmian canal to American trade cannot be overestimated; to European trade it is mainly important as placing an additional burden—that of greater distance—upon it when competing with American goods; while, with regard to European traffic to the Pacific coast of America, which will naturally seek the Nicaraguan route, there is the further risk of discriminating tolls. The disadvantage is one which can only be overcome either by preventing the construction of the canal or by greater activity on the part of European manufacturers. The first method is, as already said, out of the question; and it is by no means certain that the second will prove adequate to forestall injury to British commerce. With regard to trade with the republics of western South America Great Britain at present heads the list, with Germany second, and the United States third. But Mexico takes by far the larger portion of her imports from, and sends the larger part of her exports to, the States; and with the opening of the canal we must expect to see the lead we now hold materially reduced, and perhaps superseded. The mere advantage of proximity will accomplish that without any discriminating rates.

‘What we want,’ wrote an American commercial traveller to Senator Frye some years ago, ‘is the Nicaraguan Canal, and it ought to be completed as soon as possible, and be under the control of this Government. Then we can sit on the front seat with the commercial world for the west-coast trade of South America. The people want our goods if they can get them at the same rates of freight as from England and Germany.’

The fact that American manufacturers will have the advantage of us without lower rates of carriage seems our best protection against discrimination. Their view may, of course, undergo a change, but the defeat of the amendment asserting a claim to discriminate seems to show that we are not menaced in that quarter at present; and it is not by any means impossible that the States will modify their navigation and tariff laws before very long even if they do not actually become the free-trade na-

objection on the part of the United States to British traffic taking advantage of this trade route.

We may now consider the recent amendments to the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, two of which will, or may, seriously affect our interests in case of war, especially of war with the United States. The proposed supersession of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty has, from the manner of the action, attracted more attention than is justifiable. If we put aside the natural annoyance which we feel at the Senate's disregard of international courtesy, and examine the question dispassionately, we shall find that the amendment makes little real difference. The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, in its original condition, embodies all the material stipulations of the Treaty of 1850 except those which it expressly modifies. It provides for equality in canal charges, preserves the 'general principle' of neutralisation, with its corollary, the invitation to other powers to adhere, and prohibits both blockade and fortification. The only other important article in the earlier treaty—Art. I—is modified by Art. I and Art. II (7) of the later Convention, which allow the United States to make, regulate, and police the canal. It is true that Art. I of the earlier Treaty also prohibited either power from 'exercising any dominion over any part of Central America.' But this prohibition we have practically cancelled by the modification above-mentioned, for the United States cannot make and control the canal without taking practical possession of more or less territory on either side.* If the Americans were eventually to decide to annex the whole of Nicaragua—a very improbable contingency so long as Mexico is independent—we could hardly do anything—treaty or no treaty—but protest. We may console ourselves by reflecting that the removal of the prohibition to exercise dominion in Central America liberates us as well as the United States, though we are not in the least likely to make use of the right thus restored.

Thus it appears that the supersession of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty is a matter of small importance to this country. International conditions and other circumstances have undergone so radical a change in the last

* An amendment empowering the United States to acquire territory adjacent to the canal—which would have practically recognised the Frey-linghuysen-Zevalla treaty—was negatived, probably because it was felt to be superfluous.

the United States might be at war, or with which there might be a prospect of war, however distant. The Davis amendment may therefore be taken as practically relieving the United States from all the disabilities contained in Art. II, whenever it may appear to be to its interest to neglect them.

The connexion between this amendment and that which cancels Art. III is now clear. If other powers join in guaranteeing the neutrality of the canal, they may interfere with the action of the United States under the Davis amendment. If they take no part in the treaty, they will have no *locus standi*. The third amendment substitutes protection—ostensibly by Great Britain and the United States, but really by the States alone—for neutralisation properly so-called; and the canal becomes American property. The two amendments stand or fall together.

That the value of the canal to the States from a strategic point of view is immeasurably greater than to any European country it would be idle to deny; and it is not altogether matter for surprise that the Americans should wish to insure themselves against any possible interruption in case of war.

‘With this canal,’ Mr Morgan told the Senate on one occasion, ‘we could move our ships of war upon short lines with abundant fuel, and concentrate in three weeks upon our western coast a fleet that we could not assemble in three months by doubling Cape Horn.’

That this estimate was not greatly exaggerated was proved during the Spanish-American war, when the United States cruiser Oregon, arriving at San Francisco and receiving orders to join Admiral Sampson’s command in the Gulf of Mexico, was compelled to make the journey round Cape Horn, at the imminent risk of capture or destruction by the Spanish fleet. Had a trans-isthmian route been then available, the journey would have been accomplished in a few days, and much anxiety would have been saved. This incident has probably given a great impulse to the movement in favour of Americanising the canal.

Let us now consider the effect of this process in time of war. The belligerent groupings of the powers of the world, in the order of importance of the right of using the

canal to one party or the other, would seem to be these: (a) the United States against Great Britain; (b) the United States against a European power or Japan; (c) Great Britain against a European power or Japan; (d) a European power against a European power or against Japan.

In any case in which the United States were belligerent they would constantly require, for the reason stated by Mr Morgan, to make use of the canal for their ships of war. But it is impossible to imagine the commander of a British or any other fleet, whose country was at war with the United States, adventuring his vessels into such a trap as the canal might prove to be, even were it neutralised. In such a war both the warships and the marine of the other belligerent would naturally seek the Suez Canal, since, even supposing neutralisation and the most perfect good faith on the part of the American Government, there would be imminent risk of capture before entering or on leaving the neutral zone, or of some untoward 'accident' in the canal. This would apply to Great Britain; it would apply with yet greater force to any other power, inasmuch as every other power in the world is far less advantageously situated for attacking the United States on the sea. Even if the States had declared in favour of complete neutralisation of the canal, Great Britain would, from her bases in the West Indies, be able to do considerable damage to American shipping outside the zone of neutrality; while the establishment of the canal on the footing of American property would enable us to maintain a blockade—supposing that we now refuse to be bound by Art. II (2)—and thus to render the route useless to American shipping of all kinds, so long as we could hold the sea. In the meantime the Suez Canal would afford us a safe communication with the East, unless the United States navy were then vastly stronger than it is at present. On the other hand, the fortification of the canal would probably prevent a *coup de main* by which we might hope to seize one or other outlet, and thus—even if we could not use the canal ourselves—to hinder American ships from using it: and this—it can hardly be doubted—is the primary cause of the demand for what, as we have shown, practically amounts to a right of fortification.

If Great Britain were at war with a European power, or a combination of powers, which could for a time block

the Mediterranean and render the Suez canal unavailable for British ships of war, the neutralisation of the route through Nicaragua would become important to us for the purpose of reinforcing or withdrawing, if necessary, our squadrons in the East in the least possible time. The same consideration would apply to the other belligerent, although perhaps in a less degree. If the canal is neutralised to the extent of being open to belligerent warships (it may, of course, only be neutralised for the protection of trading vessels), this use could be made of it. If it should become solely American property, or should only be neutralised in the lesser degree, belligerent warships would obviously be unable to claim a passage through it, and in going to or returning from the East would be obliged to round Cape Horn, an addition to the voyage of not far short of ten thousand miles. In either case, so long as the United States remains neutral, the new conditions introduced by the Davis amendment would, from this particular point of view, be a matter of indifference to us.

Were two European powers at war, the struggle would be mainly fought out on land. But a country like Germany, with her rapidly growing industrial population, cannot afford to neglect the naval question, and by her therefore, even more perhaps than by France and Russia, the conditions attaching to the user of the isthmian canal cannot be viewed with indifference. Should Japan be one of the belligerent parties, the war would probably be conducted mainly in the East. This would certainly be the case if Russia were the other belligerent; and as Russia is the only power with which Japan has at present any cause for serious disagreement, and Japan is still an unknown factor in naval warfare with European powers, the question of the relation of the canal to any hostilities in which she may happen to be engaged is hardly ripe for discussion. At any rate, this is not our concern.

From what has been said, it will, we think, be clear that neutralisation, as provided for by Art. II of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, would be the course most beneficial to the general welfare of the world. To Europe it would certainly be so; and the United States also would, it is probable, gain more than it would lose by assenting to the principles which both Conventions lay down without

practically barring the canal from within. Lastly, they demand that we shall forgo the right of inviting other states to join in guaranteeing the neutrality of the canal. This is evidently a very one-sided arrangement. The question is—can we consent to it, with or without a considerable *quid pro quo*? If we cannot consent to it, are we to take any measures to prevent it? and if so, what measures?

There is no present menace to our existing possessions in Central America; but doubtless these, as well as our West Indian possessions, would be rendered less defensible in time of war, at all events of war with the United States, by the mere existence of the canal, even if neutralised—much more so if Americanised. Putting aside the supersession of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty as unimportant, this consideration, together with those urged above with regard to the other amendments, might well be sufficient to induce us to refuse our consent. Nor could we possibly surrender our right to blockade while practically conceding to America the right to bar. The Davis amendment touches other powers beside ourselves, and though it concerns us principally, will hardly be palatable to them. But the Foraker amendment is hardly less unacceptable, for it hinders us from obtaining the support of other powers in opposing measures detrimental to their interests as well as ours. To consent to this amendment would be tantamount to cutting ourselves adrift from Europe in order to gratify the United States, without getting any advantage in return; in fact, to throw overboard European interests and join, or rather follow, the United States against Europe. To adopt such a course would be fatuous. It is hardly conceivable that even the Senate should expect us to adopt it.

If, on the other hand, we adhere to the principle of neutralisation, too much weight should not be laid on the supposed parallel of the Suez Canal. There is little real similarity between the cases. The political and geographical conditions differ widely; and the neutralisation of the Suez Canal, while theoretically complete, is practically modified by our position in Egypt and by the paramount importance of the canal to our communications with India. The question of Nicaragua should be settled on its own merits, without reference to the doubtful precedent of

so far, be hampered. But the danger to Canada from the States lies not in an attack by sea; it is in her long and exposed land-frontier. The canal can make no difference here; nor, on the other hand, would it render the transport of reinforcements from this country more difficult than before. We have yet to hear a definite statement of Canadian opinion; but these considerations point to the conclusion that the canal is a matter of comparative indifference to Canada. So far as they are touched at all, her interests are at one with ours; and they certainly are not touched so extensively as to make it incumbent on us to risk a quarrel with the States on that account. There are other matters of Anglo-American concern in which it may become the duty of Great Britain to stand upon her strict rights as guardian of colonial interests. This, however, does not appear to us to be the occasion; and we should be sorry to see the country driven through pique to adopt a course which would eventually tell heavily against Canada in directions which are of more immediate moment to her.

Assuming, then, that we cannot give our consent to the American proposals, and that, nevertheless, our interests are not sufficiently involved to justify us in pressing our opposition to the verge of a quarrel, what policy remains for us to adopt? We can still attempt to bring European opinion to bear; and, if that fails, we can wash our hands of the whole affair.

Other powers are not, perhaps, so materially interested as Great Britain, because they have not the same volume of trade, or the same vast and populous over-sea possessions to consider. Still, this is a matter which concerns the whole of Europe, and in which other nations than those at present negotiating ought to have a voice. Several of them are already concerned, through existing treaties with Nicaragua. The first thing, then, it appears to us, that the Government of this country should do is to sound the chancelleries of Europe as to their willingness to join in opposition to the American proposals. If they consent, the United States could hardly withstand the combined opinion of Europe. If they refuse, we should attempt no more. We cannot prevent the canal being made; and we have no wish to prevent it. To ask for any return for acceding to American desires would be use-

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Art. I.—THE CHARACTER OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

THE death of the most illustrious of the recent sovereigns of the world has been followed by an outburst of respectful eulogy, not merely from her own subjects, whose pride, no less than their affection, was concerned in the matter, but also from independent observers in all countries, even in those which are, by old habit or recent prejudice, hostile to British institutions, and to the rulers of our Empire. It has been gratifying to us to feel that the virtues of Queen Victoria rose so high above all international jealousies as to command veneration even when it must have been grudgingly accorded. In all the nations—but particularly, it should in justice be said, in France and in America—that ugly habit of scolding, from which we ourselves cannot pretend that we are free, gave place, at least momentarily, to a respectful and sympathetic appreciation, for which, unused as we are to these amenities, we can hardly be too grateful. This was a very striking tribute to the person of the late Queen, and one which, when we reflect upon it, must have arisen more from a correct general estimate than from any very exact knowledge. The character of Her Majesty was very widely divined; it cannot with truth be said to have been very precisely known. The fierce light which beats upon a throne has two effects, the one of which is more commonly perceived than the other. It throws up, indeed, into brilliant prominence, certain public features of the character, but none the less it produces a dazzlement, a glare of glory, in the flood of which it is not easy to analyse with exactitude the parts out of which that character is formed.

it became. It has been customary to say that she was unique, and this is in measure true; but if by this phrase it is meant to be inferred that she was born with an irresistible trend towards personal greatness, like a Napoleon, or a Darwin, or a Hugo, it appears to be wholly incorrect. The daughter of the Duke and Duchess of Kent was born, we seem to see, a rather ordinary mortal, with fine instincts, considerable mental capacity, and a certain vital persistence which was to serve her well. These qualities, not in themselves very unusual, were, however, educated by circumstances which made the very most of them, and, in particular, which enabled them to provide a basis upon which rare excellence could be built up.

The first fact, in short, which we are required to recognise if we wish to comprehend the character of Queen Victoria, is that it was, to an unusual degree, a composite one. It was not brilliantly full at some points and void at others; it had no strong lights and shades. It presented to the observer a kind of mosaic, smoothed and harmonised by circumstances into a marvellously even surface. There was no one element in her mind which would certainly, in other and untoward conditions, have made itself prominently felt. It was this, indeed, which constituted the very essence of her originality, her completeness on so many sides, her marvellous unity and efficiency, the broad, polished surface which she presented to all the innumerable difficulties which beset her path in life. It might be hazarded, as a paradox, that her originality lay in her very lack of originality, in the absence of salient eccentricity. Her character was built up of elements which are usually antagonistic, but which in her case were so nicely balanced that they held one another in check, and facilitated, instead of embarrassing, that directness of purpose and instinct for going straight to the mark, which were indispensable to success in her sovereign career.

We speak for the moment of the Queen's character, not as it had been in earlier and more tentative years, but as it has revealed itself, since the death of the Prince Consort, to those who have publicly or privately been brought into relations with her. There are none now living who have known this composite mind of hers in any other condition than completed. The Lützens and the Melbournes did something to prepare the surface of it; they helped to fit

moral relaxation that she was exposed to the danger of yielding to prejudice, for in these conditions obstinacy, in the true sense, would take hold of her. Conscious as she was of the vast round of duties in which she had to move and take her part, she was sensitive about the quantity of time and thought demanded of her from any one point. Hence, if she thought one of her ministers was not thoughtful in sparing her unnecessary work, she would with difficulty be induced to believe that his demands were ever essential. She would always be suspecting him of trying to overwork her. Her prejudice against Mr Gladstone, about which so many fables were related and so many theories formed, really started in her consciousness that he would never acknowledge that she was, as she put it, 'dead beat.' In his eagerness Mr Gladstone tried to press her to do what she knew, with her greater experience, to be not her work so much as his, and she resented the effort. He did it again, and she formed one of her pertinacious prejudices. The surface of her mind had received an impression unfavourable to the approach of this particular minister, and nothing could ever in future make her really pleased to welcome him.

In daily life, too, the inherent obstinacy, not checked by the high instinct of public duty, would often make itself felt. The Queen was fond of a very regular and symmetrical order of life. In this she showed her great instinct for business, since her hours had to be filled and divided with as rigid a precision as those of a great general or the manager of a vast commercial enterprise. But the habit of regulating all the movements of life necessitated the fixture of innumerable minute rules of domestic arrangement. The Queen displayed an amazing quickness in perceiving the infraction of any of these small laws, and she did not realise how harassing some of them were to those who suffered from their want of elasticity. There they were, settled once and for ever. In small things as in great, the Queen never believed that she was or could be wrong on a matter of principle. This was an immense advantage to her; in great matters it was an advantage the importance of which, in steadying her will, could hardly be over-estimated; but of course in little things it was sometimes apt to become what is colloquially called 'trying.' Again, since it is in moments of physical weak-

ness that the joints in every suit of human armour discover themselves, so, when the Queen was poorly or exhausted, those around her were made to feel how, with less self-control, she might have appeared arbitrary. She would be cross for no reason ; she would contest a point, and close the argument without further discussion. At these moments those who knew her best could realise what a merciful thing it was for her own happiness that the immensity of the field of her actions and her decisions forcibly kept her mind upon the very high plane which was its habitual station.

To form an accurate opinion of human beings who were presented to her attention was so important a part of her whole function as a sovereign that it took a foremost part in her intellectual exercise. She was thoroughly convinced of the importance of being correct in her reading of character, and she devoted her full powers to it. In her inspection of a strange minister or a newly appointed member of her household, she had a method well understood by those who observed her narrowly. She received the unfamiliar person with a look of suspended judgment in her face. Her eyes and her mouth took on their investigating aspect. She could be seen to be making up her mind almost as though it were a watch which had to be wound up. If the analysis was easy, and the result of it satisfactory, the features would relax ; a certain curious look of amenity would pass across her face. But if the presented type was complex or difficult, those who knew the Queen extremely well would perceive that her mind was not made up after all. The lines of the mouth would continue to be a little drawn down ; the eyes, like sentinels, would still be alert under eyebrows faintly arched. But sooner or later she would succeed in her analysis, and an almost unbroken line of examples served to give her a justified faith in her acumen. She was scarcely ever wrong, and she was slow to admit a mistake. The judgment formed in that cool period of suspended observation, of which we have spoken, she was content to abide by ; she defined the personage after her own acute fashion, and such as she had seen him first so she continued to see him.

This sureness of judgment was veiled by a simplicity and an absence of self-consciousness which took away from it the most formidable part of such an ordeal. Often,

doubtless, the humorous look of indecision which preceded the Queen's inner summing-up, must greatly have baffled the victim of her analysis. 'What is Her Majesty thinking about?' he might say to himself, but never with a sense of real discomfort, because of the Queen's complete freedom from anything like personal vanity. This was once exemplified in the case of a public man presented to her for the first time. Something was said about his opinion of the Queen. 'Dear me,' she said, 'I did not give a thought to that. It is so beside the question. What really signifies is what I think of him.' If this initial examination was embarrassing to a timid person, no one was so quick as the Queen to observe the result and to mitigate any outward sign of its cause. Then all her kindliness would assert itself. To the awkwardness of real modesty no one in her court was so indulgent as herself. Once when a man who was presented to her had been so particularly clumsy that his efforts were afterwards smiled at, the Queen reproved the merriment. 'He was shy,' she said, 'and I know well what that is, for sometimes I am very shy myself.' The most serene and dignified of women to external observation, it is possible that indeed Queen Victoria had a little secret core of timidity, for she was rather fond of confessing, with a smile, to 'a stupid feeling of shyness,' especially if that confession could make another person comfortable.

Perhaps it should be noted that there was one result of the Queen's studied habit of suspending her judgment which was not entirely convenient. She feared to commit herself; and sometimes her cryptic phrases, short and vague, with the drawn lips and the investigating eyes, fairly baffled her ministers. They put before her State conundrums to which she was not prepared to give an immediate answer; and she puzzled them to divine what she had on her mind. She left them in their uncertainty, and sent them away bewildered. It would perhaps have been convenient if, in these cases, she would have deigned to admit that she was herself undetermined.

We have said that when once she had formed a deliberate judgment with regard to a person, it was difficult to induce her to revise it. But her innate and yet carefully cultivated kindliness tempered the severity of a harsh decision. She would moderate her condemnation; s'

a habit the paramount importance of which she had seen very early in her career. She would deign to justify her impatience of dawdlers by saying: 'I can't afford to be kept waiting. If I am to get through my work, I mustn't have my moments frittered away.' Punctuality was almost more than a habit with her, it was a superstition. She was really persuaded that all the institutions of the country would crumble if her orders were not carried out to the letter and to the instant. Very few people know how superbly she continued to stand sentry to the business of her empire. She never relaxed her hold, she never withdrew under the excuse of sorrow, or weakness, or old age. This persistent and punctual attention to affairs lasted much later than most people have the least idea of. She did her business, as Head of the State, until the Thursday before her death. Then and not till then did the last optimism of those about her break down. There were amusing instances, in earlier days, of the tyranny of her promptitude. It was well known, that, not only must not the Queen be kept waiting for a moment, but there must be no hitch in her service. She well knew how much is gained to an organising and directing mind by the removal of everything that can vex the temper or distract the attention; and a military exactitude as to times and seasons became a religion with all those who waited upon her. What she liked was a sort of magical apparition of the person wished for, the moment that her wish was formulated; and many were the subterfuges by which her courtiers attempted to become visible the moment that Aladdin touched the lamp. But no rule is without an exception. In the long years of her reign, there was only one individual who dared to break the law of punctuality. The late Lady Mount Edgcumbe had as great a *penchant* for unpunctuality as the Queen had for the opposite. By principle, she was never quite in time. Oddly enough, so devoted was the Queen to this noble and accomplished friend, so completely did she enter into the humour of the thing, that she was never known to be the least incensed at it. But Lady Mount Edgcumbe was a licensed libertine, and in the dread circle of lateness none durst tread but she.

The memories of all those who have served her long and observed her closely abound with instances of her genuine humanity. It was her intense womanliness and

to the admiration she had felt for the experience of life and the stately *tenue* of Lord Melbourne and of Lord Conyngham. These men belonged in measure to the tradition of the eighteenth century; they could recall the time when people wore perukes, and long silk waistcoats, and entered drawing-rooms delicately, with the *chapeau-bras* pressed between the palms of their hands as they bowed. It was a very curious chance which ordained that the earliest guides of the youthful Queen should be men of mature age extremely conservative in manner and bearing, carrying about with them an elaborateness of conduct which was already, sixty years ago, beginning to be antiquated.

The consequence was that the Queen, carefully preserving this tradition as she did, and perpetuating it by her august example, retained not a little of the air of a bygone age. Without pedantry, her scheme of manner was distinctly more *vielle-cour* than that of any one else in Europe. In itself beautifully finished, it offered positively an antiquarian interest. But people who saw her seldom, or who were not accustomed to differentiate, made a mistake in speaking of 'the Queen's beautiful manners.' She had no 'manners' at all in the self-conscious or artificial sense. Her charm was made up of spontaneous kindness and freedom from all embarrassment, built upon this eighteenth-century style or manner which she had inherited or adopted. She acted as a great lady of 1790 might have acted, not because she set herself to have good 'manners,' but because that was how great ladies, trained as she had been trained, naturally behaved, with a perfect grace based upon unsuspecting simplicity. What was inherent nature in her manner struck recent beholders with amazement as conscious art; but what deceived them was a survival of the stateliness of the eighteenth century.

Her 'manner' was greatly aided by a trait so unusual and so strongly marked that no sketch of her character could be considered complete which failed to dwell upon it. It was perhaps the most salient of all her native, as distinguished from her acquired, characteristics. This was her strongly defined dramatic instinct. Queen Victoria possessed, to a degree shared with her by certain distinguished actors only, the genius of movement. It is difficult to know to what she owed this. From the accounts

course the person so distinguished was enchanted, and the Queen had made another friend for life, and one whom she would never forget. Then she would serenely resume her turn round the room, entirely unembarrassed, greatly interested in each fresh mind that was presented to her. These were occasions of singular interest to the student of her character, who would try, but try in vain, to decipher the inscrutable look in her face. It is impossible to conceive a social function more distressingly set about with snares for an unwary footstep. But the Queen was trammelled by no *bourgeois* fear of not doing the right thing. She trusted to the unfailing nicety of her famous dramatic instinct.

There are still a few who recollect her demeanour when she went to Paris to greet the Emperor and Empress of the French in 1855. She was not known in France; Parisian society had not made up its mind whether it meant to like her or not. Her tiny figure disconcerted the critics, and somebody quoted Émile Deschamps, 'La reine Mab nous a visité.' Paris decided at first sight that it did not like her English dress, and was frigid to her 'want of style.' But within a week Paris was at the feet of the little great lady. Her conquest of France happened at the gala performance at the Opera. Everybody was watching for the sovereigns, and the moment was highly critical. The Empress was looking magnificent, a dream of silken splendour; the Queen, as ever, somewhat disdainful of her clothes, had made no effort to shine. But when the party arrived at the box of the Opera, her innate genius for movement inspired her. The Empress of the French, fussing about her women, loitered at the door of the box; the Queen of England walked straight to the front, waiting for no help and anxious for no attendance. She stood there alone for a moment, surveying the vast concourse of society, and then she slowly bowed on every side, with a smile which the most consummate actress might envy.

This was a great moment, and the way in which it struck the French was extraordinary. 'La reine Mab' became from that day forth the idol of Parisian society, and 'the way she did it,' the consummate skill of the thing, was celebrated everywhere by the amateurs of deportment. She was never embarrassed; if a question could possibly be raised about etiquette, she would say, 'Wh

with what the French so aptly term *le fou rire*. She had no very cautious sense of the proper range of jokes, and has been known to pass them on with an extraordinary rashness. A very charming element in her humour, when it was less exuberant, was a certain kindly shyness, as though she were not quite sure of being met half way, and yet believed that she would be, and, at all events, would venture.

Although so given to perceive the risible side of things, and, therefore, unprotected against laughter, the Queen could, when it was necessary, perform feats of endurance. On one occasion an embassy from a leading Oriental power, never represented at our court before, was to be received for the first time. The event was of some importance, and the reception very ceremonious. The English court, however, had not been prepared for the appearance or the language or the formalities of the envoys. From the very opening of the scene, there was something inconceivably funny about everything that happened. When, at last, the ambassadors suddenly bowed themselves, apparently as men struggling with acute internal pain, and squeezed their hands together in passionate deprecation between their knees, the English court quivered with merriment like aspen-leaves. The Queen alone remained absolutely grave. If anything betrayed emotion, it was a deepened colour and a more intense solemnity. The envoys withdrew at last, with salaams the most exquisite imaginable, and then, but not till then, the Queen broke down, saying, through her sobs of mirth, 'But I went through it, I did go right through it!'

The Queen made no pretention to smartness of speech, yet she could often surprise those who talked with her by her wit. It consisted, to a great degree—as, indeed, most wit does—in a rapid movement of the speaker's mind, which dived suddenly and reappeared at an unexpected place. Her sincerity led her to a quaintness of wording which was often very entertaining. One instance of this, among many which rise to the memory, may be given here. A piece of very modern music had been performed in the Queen's presence, manifestly not to her approval. 'What is that?' she asked. 'It's a drinking song, Ma'am, by Rubinstein.' 'Nonsense,' said the Queen; 'no such thing! Why, you could not drink a cup of tea to *that*!'

Her sense of humour was that of a strong and healthy person. It was a natural outcome of the breadth of her normal and wholesome humanity. That she had a very remarkable fund of nervous strength follows as a matter of course on the record of what she was and what she lived to do. Her courage was one of the personal qualities of which her subjects were most properly convinced; they knew her to have a royal disdain of fear. One of the little incidents, hardly noted at the time, and soon forgotten, which deserve to be revived, was connected with the attack made upon her in 1850 by Robert Pate, who struck her across the face with a cane. She was on her way home from her afternoon drive, when, just as the carriage turned into the archway on Constitution Hill, the assault was made. She was announced to appear at the Opera that evening, and her frightened ladies said that of course she would stay at home. 'Certainly not,' she replied. 'If I do not go, it will be thought that I am seriously hurt, and people will be distressed and alarmed.' 'But you are hurt, ma'am.' 'Very well, then every one shall see how little I mind it.' The usual orders were given, and at the proper hour she appeared in the theatre, where the news of the attack had preceded her; the whole house was in consternation. The Queen walked straight to the front of the royal box, stood there for every one to see the red weal across her forehead, bowed on all sides, smiled, and sat down to enjoy the play.

On her last visit to Dublin, she was strongly urged to have an escort of cavalry always close to the carriage. She refused point-blank. 'Why, if I were to show the least distrust of the Irish, they would think I deserved to be afraid of them.' Under no conditions did she ever show the slightest panic or any fear for her own person. When the Fenian troubles were at their height, there was an idea that an attempt would be made to kidnap the Queen from Osborne, and she was consulted as to steps to be taken for her further protection. She laughed aloud and put the proposals by. 'Poor things,' she said, 'if they were so silly as to run away with me, they would find me a very inconvenient charge.'

The attitude of Queen Victoria towards religion formed a very interesting element in the composition of her character. It was two-fold, the political and the personal.

and these two never clashed. The political side can easily be defined. She accepted, without discussion, the paradox that she was the head of two more or less antagonistic religious bodies. It did not trouble her at all that at Carlisle she was the official representative of the Anglican Church, and a few minutes later, at Lockerbie, she had become the official representative of Scottish Presbyterianism. This she not merely did not question, but its discussion annoyed her; she did not permit any trifling with the subject. She considered her political relation to the national religions exactly as she treated her headship of the army or the navy. It was a constitutional matter, which she never dreamed of disputing. To have asked how it coincided with her personal inner convictions would have seemed to her like asking her if she had ever served as a soldier or a sailor. She was Queen of Great Britain, and the sovereigns of this country were heads of its two national churches. She wished to be kind to her Catholic subjects in the same way; 'I am their Queen, and I must look after them,' she said. She would have been quite prepared to be the religious head of her Mohammadan and her Buddhist subjects in India, in the same professional way. She looked upon these things as part of the business of her statecraft, and never allowed the matter to trouble her conscience.

Of her personal religion it behoves us to speak with great reserve and with deep respect. Yet it was so prominent a feature of her character that we are not justified in excluding it from our study. Be it simply said, then, that in Her Majesty the religious life was carried out upon the plainest Christian lines, without theological finesse, and without either vacillation or misgiving. She never disputed about questions of faith; she never dwelt on its circumstances. She was always very shy of airing her convictions, and had something of the old eighteenth-century shrinking from what she called 'enthusiasm.' She desired above all things to avoid the appearance of cant, and brought to the discussion of religion, as of all other things, that exquisite spirit of good breeding of which she was the acknowledged mistress. It may be hazarded that the forms of service in which she found most satisfaction were those of the Presbyterian Church. But she never discussed them, and never was at

defend them. If by chance some ardent theologian in Scotland should find it irresistible in the Queen's private presence to split hairs and insist upon subtle shades of dogma, he was listened to but not answered. Presently the collie-dog would yawn, and the Queen would faintly smile; if the divine was a wise man, he would accept the criticism. The Queen—it must be admitted—had no leaning to theological discussion, and not much curiosity about creeds.

Preachers not unfrequently made the great mistake of setting their sermons directly at Her Majesty. This was never approved of, and even when it was done in a round-about way it was sure to be discovered. The Queen greatly preferred a direct appeal to the congregation in general; she liked to merge herself with the others—to be forgotten by the preacher, except as one among many souls. References to her 'vast empire' and her 'sovereign influence over millions of men' always gave offence. 'I think he would have done better to stick to his text,' she would say. She had no love for any sort of excess; she discouraged asceticism as a branch of the 'enthusiasm' that she dreaded; she did not approve of long services, and would sometimes scandalise the minister by indicating, with uplifted fan, that the sermon was getting too lengthy. She said of one clergyman, 'I think he would do better if he did not look at me. He catches my eye, and then he cannot stop.' The Queen disapproved of proselytism in the court; she would allow no distribution of tracts, no propagation of fads and 'peculiar opinions.' There was no reason why there should be any sects, she thought, and no proof that modern people were any wiser about morals than their forefathers. She was a Broad Churchwoman, in the true sense, and her attitude towards dogmatic religion was a latitudinarian one, though perhaps she would have disliked it being defined in that way. In the old Tractarian days she felt a certain curiosity in the movement, but when Lady Canning tried to convert her to High Church views, the Queen was very angry. It rather set a mark in her mind against a person that he or she was a ritualist. It was always an element in her reticence with regard to Mr Gladstone, that he was too High Church; 'I am afraid he has the mind of a Jesuit,' she used to say. She liked Roman Catholics very much

better than Anglican ritualists, partly because she had a respect for their antiquity, and partly because she was not the head of their Church, and so felt no responsibility about their opinions. She had foreign Roman Catholic friends with whom she sometimes spoke on religious matters with a good deal of freedom. Her knowledge of many phases of modern religious thought was rather vague; and when the creed of the Positivists was first brought to her notice, she was extremely interested. 'How very curious,' she said, 'and how very sad! What a pity somebody does not explain to them what a mistake they are making. But do tell me more about this strange M. Comte.'

The religious position of the Queen, as a human being, can be very simply defined. The old peasant at her cottage-door, spelling out a page of the Bible, was an image that particularly appealed to her. She was full of beautiful and perfectly simple devotional feelings; she was confident of the efficacy of prayer. She looked upon herself quite without disproportion, not as a Queen, but as an aged woman who had been sorely tried by anxiety and bereavement, and by the burden of responsibility, but who had been happy enough to see through it all that it was the will of God, and to feel that that lightened the load. It was her cardinal maxim that all discomfort comes from resisting that will. To her parish-priests she always showed particular kindness; and some she honoured with her confidence. Dean Wellesley, in many ways like-minded with herself, was long her trusted confidant. Nephew of the great Duke, he was a noble type of the enlightened statesman-priest, and he was the latest survival of all those men who were grouped around the Queen in her early youth. He exercised a paramount authority in matters of Church preferment, where the Queen never questioned his wisdom, for she had proved him to be raised above all sectarian prejudice by his remarkable elevation of character. Dean Wellesley was aware of the importance of his advice to the Queen, and he refused bishopric after bishopric from unwillingness to leave her. At his death, in 1882, she was deeply afflicted. No later chaplain could hope to exercise quite the same power as Dean Wellesley; but Dr Davidson (the present Bishop of Winchester), who, after a short interval, suc-

ceeded him in the Deanery, obtained in later years an influence closely resembling that of his predecessor. In the Established Church of Scotland, no minister received clearer marks of Her Majesty's favour, and none, it may be added, deserved them better, than Dr Norman Macleod, whose elevated and lovable character, compounded of strength and tenderness, good sense, humour, and sympathy, was animated by a form of religion specially attractive to the Queen.

Perfect as she was in a regal and political aspect, filling more than adequately an astonishing number of offices, it was yet inevitable that there should be sides of life in which Queen Victoria was not inclined, or was not, let us boldly admit it, competent to take a leading part. Such shining qualities as hers could not but have their defects, and it is the poorest-spirited obsequiousness to pretend that they had not. No one brought a greater tact to the solution of the questions, What can I, and what can I not do? than did her late Majesty. When it came to her asking herself, Can I be a leader of intellectual and æsthetic taste? she promptly decided that she could not, and she did not attempt the impossible task. It may be admissible to regret, or not to regret, that the Queen did not take the lead in the advancement of literature and art among her people. It may be a not insufficient answer, founded upon absolute common-sense, to say that she had, literally, not leisure enough to do everything, and that she very wisely diverted her attention from those subjects in which, as a leader, she might have failed. She had no time to fail; consequently, if there was the least doubt concerning her ability in any one direction, there it was useless to push on.

This was particularly the case in regard to literature. She saw a vast and growing work being performed by her subjects, and she did not feel that she was in touch with it. She accordingly left it alone, and had the wisdom not to attempt to patronise what she was not sure of comprehending. If we are content to examine her personal tastes and predilections, they were not brilliant, but they did no discredit to her understanding. She was naïve about the books she read, which were mainly novels and travels. Walter Scott was her favourite author; but she had a great partiality for Jane Austen. The Prince Con-

sort was an enthusiastic student of George Eliot, and he persuaded the Queen to read her books; she continued, perhaps partly for the Prince's sake, to express great admiration for them. The Queen had no real feeling for poetry, although she professed a cult for Tennyson, founded upon her emotional interest in his 'In Memoriam.' More modern authors received little attention from her; and the stories current of the Queen's particular interest in this or that recent writer may be dismissed as the fables of self-advertisement. She would sometimes begin a book, at the earnest request of one of her ladies, who would immediately write off to the author: 'I am happy to tell you that the Queen is now deep in your "Prodigies of Passion"'; but the correspondent would fail to mention that Her Majesty had tossed it away when she reached the fifth page. She would be very full of a book of information while she was studying it, would be riveted by particular anecdotes, and would quote them eagerly.

It could not with truth be said that her interest in art was much more acute. Here again, it was always her instinct that guided her rather than cultivated knowledge. She never took the right kind of interest in the beautiful objects she possessed in her palaces, and it is mere courtly complaisance to pretend that she did. In painting, two or three foreigners pleased her, and she rang the changes on their productions. In portraiture she greatly preferred likeness to artistic merit, and it was this that kept her from employing some of the great Englishmen of her reign. The Queen was entreated to sit to Mr G. F. Watts, but in vain. When it was argued that he would produce a splendid painting, she would say: 'Perhaps so, but I am afraid it would be ugly.' Lady Canning, at the time of the Pre-Raphaelite revival, tried very hard to lead the Queen's taste into fresh channels, and to woo it away from its cold German traditions; but she did not succeed. Frankly, the Queen did not care about art. She did not attempt to become acquainted with the leading English artists of her time. The only studio of a master that she ever visited was that of Leighton, whose 'Procession of Cimabue' the Prince Consort had bought for her, and whom she thought delightful, though perhaps more as an accomplished and highly agreeable courtier than as a painter.

Her attitude to music and to drama was much more interesting, though very simple. She had a sweet soprano voice, and had been trained by Costa to produce it prettily. She was very modest and even deprecatory about this accomplishment of hers, in which, however, she acquitted herself charmingly. Her favourite musician was Mendelssohn, who had greatly pleased her in early days as a man. She would have nothing to say, until quite late in life, to Wagner or Brahms, and once dismissed them all in one of her abrupt turns of conversation, 'Quite incomprehensible!' 'I'm bored with the Future altogether,' she used to say, 'and don't want to hear any more about it.' She was not more partial to some of the old masters, and once closed a musical discussion by saying, 'Handel always tires me, and I won't pretend he doesn't.' She carried out her aversion to the last, and forbade that the Dead March in 'Saul' should be played at her funeral.

At the play she must always have been a charming companion, her attention was so gaily awakened, her spirits so juvenile. She was fond of drama, even of melodrama, and let herself become the willing victim of every illusion. Sometimes she put on a little sprightly air of condescension to a companion presumably ignorant of stage affairs: 'Now listen, carefully. You think that woman is the housekeeper, but you wait and see.' And at the *dénouement*, the Queen was always triumphant: 'There! you didn't expect that, did you?' She thoroughly enjoyed a good farce, and laughed heartily at the jokes. She delighted in Italian opera, and when she liked a piece, she steeped herself in every part of it, the melody and the romance, and heard it over and over until she knew the music by heart. 'Norma' was a great favourite; and in later years Calvé won her heart in 'Carmen,' to which opera—music, plot, and everything—the Queen became absolutely devoted. And the pieces of Gilbert and Sullivan were an endless delight to her; she would even take a part in these, very drolly and prettily. No one could form a more sympathetic audience, whether in music or drama, than the Queen. She gave her unbroken attention to the performer, and followed whatever was being done with an almost childish eagerness. If the tenor began to be in the least heavy, the Queen would be observed to fidget, as though hardly restrained from breaking into song herself;

amusing incidents occurred in connexion with this sacred object. When Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton first dined with the Queen, he strolled about the drawing-room afterwards so freely that Her Majesty whispered in agitation, 'If you don't do something to attract his attention, in another minute he'll be—on the rug!'

But although the rule of the court in these matters was so absolute, and its habits intensely conservative, the Queen's private manner was never affected by it, even on these stately occasions. Sometimes the court, on arriving in the drawing-room after dinner, would form a semi-circle around the Queen, and stand while she spoke to one after another. There was, of course, no other talk. When this ordeal was over, the Queen would take her flight to the sofa, where the Duchess of Kent was already seated at a round table at her game of cards. The formality of the evening would then subside, and the Queen would be once more the charming easy companion with whom her ladies had gone sketching in the park in the morning.

The Queen was sometimes a little nervous lest people whom she did not know well should be tempted to take a liberty. Of course, as years rolled on, this became a more and more utterly incredible supposition, but in old years more than one dinner-party at Windsor was spoiled by it. At the shadow, or less than the shadow, of an undue freedom, she would freeze, and, in all probability, not thaw again through the course of the dinner. She had a droll way of referring to these mischances, for which she had always the same formula; she used to say, 'I chose to have a headache last night. I am not quite sure that —— is discreet.' This was a favourite word with the Queen, and she used it in a variety of meanings. It meant well-bred, and it meant tactful; and it meant personally or instinctively agreeable to Her Majesty. It was rather a dreadful moment when she said that somebody was 'not discreet.' Her favourite form of showing displeasure for want of discretion was to leave off asking the indiscreet person to dinner. The Queen invariably selected her own dinner list; and people who had unconsciously offended found out their error by not being asked for several successive nights. In process of time their sin would be pardoned, and the sign of it would be the reappearance of the name on the dinner list.

She had a very fine instinct for good breeding, but this did not prevent her from being sometimes a prey to vulgar toadies. People would enlist her sympathies for some decayed relation of their own, and the Queen would become violently interested. If, as not unfrequently was the case, the personage proved disappointing, she would often be exceedingly forbearing. 'Not very pretty manners, poor thing! Well, well!' she would say, and that would be the end of it. On the whole, she did not resent this commonness of manner so much as she did lofty behaviour. She looked askance at pretentious people, and in this direction she was certainly sometimes tempted to injustice. She was always a little afraid of 'clever' women; and a reputation for superior intelligence was no recommendation in her eyes. She liked the ladies about her to have extremely good manners and a pretty presence, but she shrank away from any woman who, she feared, was 'going to be clever.' It had been very early instilled into her that it was man's province to be clever, and that it was much best for woman not to intrude into it.

The men with whom she had been principally brought into contact at the beginning of her reign had not been remarkable as a group for their mental cultivation. There seems to be no doubt at all that the 'man of the world' of fifty years ago was in every respect a more ignorant being than he would be if he flourished to-day. Not merely did he not know much, but it was a point of honour with him to conceal what little he did know. The wives and daughters of these noblemen surrounded the young Queen, and impressed upon her the idea of what English women ought to be. In the course of time, Prince Albert appeared upon the scene, with his head full of the precepts of Count Stockmar, his store of German culture, and his genuine taste for science and philosophy. The Queen was partially converted to the Prince Consort's views; not merely was she proud of his attainments, but she admitted to herself that it was proper that there should be cultivated and learned men, who should walk in line with the Prince. But, as regards women, she retained her preconceived ideal. She would certainly never have allowed that every action of theirs could be analysed under one of three categories, as it was said that Stockmar had persuaded Prince Albert to believe.

checked any exaggerated expression of personal affection the moment that it was threatened.

The Queen, full of warmth and human tenderness as she was, and surrounded all her life by persons deeply devoted to her, to whom she was deeply attached, was singularly without what could truly be called friends. The atmosphere of her life was too much charged with formality to allow of what could deserve the name of a deep personal friendship between herself and any of her subjects. No one, it was made apparent, was ever quite necessary to her; the indispensable person did not exist. Lady Canning used to warn enthusiastic novices of the danger of cultivating any illusion on this point. She would say, 'You will be delighted with your waiting at Balmoral or at Osborne. You will see the Queen intimately, riding, dancing, playing, dining. You will think she cannot get on without you. And then you will come back one day to Windsor, and somebody else will take your place, and you will have become—a number on the list.' Undoubtedly, in her ripe wisdom, the Queen encouraged this. She desired above all things to keep the society immediately around her person on a serene and even footing. There must not be the least approach to favouritism; and she would check herself first of all if she discovered a tendency in her own manner to encourage one person at the expense of another. But, in truth, her engrained professional habit made her free of all her ladies.

It is matter of ancient history that in 1839 the Queen waged a determined battle with Sir Robert Peel on the subject of the appointment of her bedchamber women. He offered his resignation, and she accepted it without the least compunction. It is not so well known that she failed in her second and parallel controversy, about her private secretary. No Government would hear of creating any such appointment, and the post continued to be officially unrecognised until the very close of her reign. It was none the less powerful, however, for being unofficial. In Baron Stockmar's letters to the Prince Consort, he acutely points out how the Prince may best serve the Queen, by acting as her private secretary. He tried to do this, with the help of G. E. Anson; of course the result was that the unseen man, of professional knowledge and habits, became the moving spirit. It continued to be so after

work required of her was twice as great as it had been on her earlier visit. She did her very best to win the affection of the Irish, but the effort fatigued her much. She was carried through it all by her enjoyment of the wit and gaiety of the crowd. She kept on saying, 'How I delight in the Irish!'

In closing this brief study of one of the most remarkable personalities of the nineteenth century, a few words must not be omitted dealing with the Queen's attitude towards her own regal position. No one ever accepted her fate with a graver or more complete conviction. It is possible that if her signature had been required to a declaration, on paper, of her belief in the divine right of kings, she would have thought it prudent to refuse to sign; but in her own heart she never questioned that she was the anointed of the Lord, called by the most solemn warrant to rule a great nation in the fear of God. She was fond of the word 'loyalty,' but she used it in a sense less lax than that which it bears in the idle parlance of the day. When the Queen spoke of her subjects as 'loyal,' she meant it in the mediæval sense. The relation was not, in her eyes, voluntary or sentimental, but imperative. If she had been a wicked or a foolish woman, it would have been very sad; but the duty of obedience would, in her idea, have been the same. Subjects must be 'loyal'; if they loved their sovereign, so much the better for them and for her, but affection was not essential. In her phraseology this constantly peeped out—'I, the Queen,' '*my* people,' '*my* soldiers.' She regarded herself, professionally, as the pivot round which the whole machine of state revolves. This sense, this perhaps even chimerical conviction of her own indispensability, greatly helped to keep her on her lofty plane of daily, untiring duty. And gradually she hypnotised the public imagination, so that at last, in defiance of the theories of historic philosophers, the nation accepted the Queen's view of her own functions, and tacitly concluded with her that she ruled, a consecrated monarch, by Right Divine.

and in the directions which science was giving for their advantage, the contemporaries of Caird were far better off than those of Young.

Caird found very little draining with tiles being done in 1850 in some counties, except by advanced landowners, although Smith of Deanston's new system had been perfected by Parkes, with the help of the cylindrical pipes which Reed introduced in 1843, made by a machine invented by Scraggs. Tile drainage, however, was carried on extensively after the depression which Caird investigated had come to an end, the loan facilities provided for landowners by Sir Robert Peel in 1848 for the draining of their estates being used to a considerable extent, though the terms were not very easy, as borrowers were required to pay $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for twenty-two years, to cover capital and interest; and drains seldom last longer than that period in effective condition.

Steam was applied to the cultivation of land by John Usher of Edinburgh by means of a rotatory implement, in 1851 or 1852; Smith's steam cultivator did good work in 1856; and Fowler's steam plough, worked by a single engine and an anchor, gained the prize of 200*l.* offered by the Royal Agricultural Society in 1857. In the following year Fowler won the Society's prize of 500*l.* for an improved steam plough, and later he brought out his double-engine system for ploughs and cultivators, which has lasted, with some improvements, up to the present time. The reaping machine was first made effective enough to be used to an appreciable extent in 1852, when Crosskill introduced his improvement on Bell's reaper, invented in 1826; and, after 1860, Crosskill's three-horse machine, which could cut its own way into a field, as it was driven in front of the horses, came into extensive use. In 1872 Samuelson brought out his light and convenient one-horse reaper, and various machines by Hornsby and other makers came soon after into the field, to be followed, after a considerable interval, by the sheaf-binders which are now in general work. Steam had been applied to threshing machines in 1850 to a limited extent, and by 1858 several makers were competing in them. As for the ploughs, harrows, cultivators, and other implements worked by horses, they were improved with great rapidity during the period under notice; but the makers are too numerous to be named. Nor have

we space to notice the very numerous improvers of the several breeds of horses, cattle, sheep, and pigs.

During this period of prosperity, Liebig, Lawes and his colleague Gilbert, Boussingault, Henslow, Lindley, Buckland, Daubeny, Playfair, Johnston, Way, Ville, Mené, Hartig, and Voelcker were popularising science as applied to agriculture; and valuable articles appeared in the 'Journal' of the Royal Agricultural Society and the 'Transactions' of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland. Caird noticed the use of nitrate of soda as a novelty in 1850; but guano, dissolved bones, and superphosphate were becoming common manures; and broken bones had been applied to pastures in Cheshire with wonderful effect. The dairying branch of agriculture received the least attention; but in 1855 the Somerset system of Cheddar-cheese making was introduced into Scotland, marking the beginning of an important industry for that country.

With respect to the tenure of land, leases, though generally too short to afford security for steady improvement, were common in many counties at the beginning of the century, but fell almost entirely into disuse in England during the prolonged period of distress that followed the year 1815, so that Caird found them uncommon in 1850. Nineteen years' leases, however, had come into fashion in Scotland, and in England the leasing system was revived, especially on small estates, when farming became prosperous once more.

The great rise in rents which took place revived the demand for tenant-right, which Lord Portman had raised or represented in 1841, but without success. Mr Pusey, in 1847, followed Lord Portman's lead by introducing a bill giving tenants legal security for their improvements. It was referred to a Select Committee of the House of Commons, before which some very strong evidence in its favour was given. It was clearly shown that tenants were frequently rented on their own improvements, and that this was a source of much discouragement and a deterrent to high farming. The Committee, however, reported against compulsory legislation, and in 1848, when the bill was again brought forward, it was rejected. In 1850, Mr Pusey succeeded in passing his measure through the House of Commons, only to have it thrown out by the

great recovery in corn prices in 1860, and the American Civil War, in 1861, brought the wheat average up to 55s. 4d. per quarter, followed by an advance of a penny in the following year.

This brings us to the end of the decade of high agricultural prosperity; but, although all kinds of corn fell greatly in value for three years, the greatest wheat crop on record was grown in 1863, the total being estimated at nearly 18,000,000 quarters, and the average per acre at 38½ bushels. Moreover, another splendid harvest was reaped in the following year, and a good one in 1865; so that, even with wheat at 40s. 2d. to 44s. 9d., there was not much to complain of, especially as meat and dairy produce advanced in value as corn went down. In those times a poor harvest insured good prices, as imports of corn remained at a comparatively low level, and two bad seasons, those of 1866 and 1867, restored the average rates to a high level in the two following years. Wheat was 64s. 5d. and 63s. 9d.; barley 40s. and 43s.; and oats averaged 26s. and 28s. 1d., prices only rarely surpassed all round in the heyday of Protection.

If it was chiefly during the period of the Crimean War and the prosperous years that ensued that farmers saved fortunes, it may at least be said that they held their own well for many years longer. The twelve harvests ending with that of 1865 probably made the best series ever known, and it was only the fall in prices for the last three years of the period which rendered the prosperity of corn-growers less remarkable than in the decade ending with 1863. But the 'sixties' were not to end without another great harvest, that of 1868, when prices, as already noticed, were high. In the 'seventies' the harvests were as poor, as a rule, as they had been rich in the preceding decade; but corn prices remained high up to 1875, while animal products, including wool, have rarely if ever been so dear before or since. Wool fell in value in that year, however, and the harvest was the fourth bad one that had been experienced since 1870. Therefore the period of prosperity, great at first, and moderate afterwards, may be said to have ended with 1874, after lasting for twenty-two years. A more or less serious drawback to the good times was the fluctuating prevalence of pleuro-pneumonia and foot-and-mouth disease; the former disease having been intro-

but the scheme collapsed in the latter year, and it was not until 1866 that the Agricultural Returns of Great Britain appeared. These returns gave for the first time an approximately accurate account of the acreage of crops and the numbers of the several classes of live stock in the country. The area under wheat, which was known with a close approach to accuracy years before, had begun to decline, and was returned at 3,661,351 acres in 1866 for the United Kingdom, 3,351,394 acres of this total being credited to Great Britain. In 1874 the area in Great Britain was nearly 300,000 acres more, and it was not until five years later that a great decline took place. Other corn crops, taken together, held their ground. During the same period cattle had increased in Great Britain from under five millions to over six millions. The return of sheep in 1866 was obviously incomplete; but in the following year the number was a little under twenty-nine millions, and it was over thirty millions in 1874. Pigs had remained at less than 2½ millions. There was no return of horses in 1866. Up to 1874, then, the statistics of British agriculture indicated prosperity.

Except in 1878, the harvests of the rest of the 'seventies' were poor, and the price of wheat was under 47s. a quarter in all but one of those years. But other kinds of corn and animal products, excepting wool, continued to sell well till 1878, though with a downward tendency generally. The depression had begun; but it had not yet become severe. The disastrous harvest of 1879, already mentioned as the worst of the century—when a wet season spoilt a good deal of the little corn produced—together with a great fall in the prices of most farm products, brought about a sudden climax of misfortune. There were no official statistics of crop yields in those days; but Mr (afterwards Sir John) Lawes estimated the wheat average at only 15½ bushels per acre; and the average price was only 43s. 10d. per quarter. Then commenced the period of agricultural depression which has lasted, with some mitigation from partial adjustment of conditions in the latter part of it, down to the end of the century.

As in the time of prosperity at the beginning of the century, rents had risen enormously during the Crimean War and afterwards, and farmers had adopted an expensive style of living. Wages, too, had risen, wh

landlords, equality in railway rates on home and foreign products, and the appointment of a Minister of Agriculture. Nearly all these recommendations have received the attention of Parliament, though the resultant legislation has not been in all cases effectual. The permissive Agricultural Holdings Act of 1875, for example, was superseded in 1883 by an extended and compulsory measure, a modification of the Law of Distress being among its provisions; but the expense involved in putting it in operation, with the uncertainty of arbitration and possible litigation as a sequel, prevented it from having a widespread effect, except indirectly. Besides, the period that has elapsed since it was passed has been one of retrenchment rather than of outlay on improvements among the great majority of farmers. Again, in spite of the apparently distinct prohibition of preference rates on imported produce in the Railway and Canal Traffic Act, such rates still continue, giving a most unfair advantage to foreign and colonial competitors over British and Irish farmers. On the other hand, the cattle-disease legislation has had a highly beneficial effect.

Depression deepened as the losses of successive years swallowed up the capital of farmers, and arrears of rent, many of them never to be paid, accumulated. For some time most landlords, hoping that the depression was only temporary, refused to allow permanent reductions in their rents, though many of them granted temporary remissions on a liberal scale year after year. Thus it happened that a great number of old tenants had to quit their farms, which could only be let to new men at a great reduction in rent. Thousands of farmers were ruined, and all but comparatively few were seriously crippled. The employment of labour was reduced as low as possible, land being laid down to grass extensively, or left to lay itself down with grass and weeds. Many farms were thrown on the owners' hands, and not a few became derelict for some years, as they were considered not to be worth the tithes and rates charged upon them. The migration of agricultural labourers to the towns between 1871 and 1881 was on a large scale, and the census of 1891 shows that it continued during the next ten years.

Almost everything was in combination to deepen the depression for some years after 1879. Foreign competi-

prosperous times, milk having sunk very low, except in seasons of drought, towards the end of the century.

One of the great advantages of the most prosperous decade of British agriculture was the high price of wool that prevailed. After being very cheap, as then considered, from 1842 to 1851, an advance began in 1852, when the average price of Lincoln wool, for example, was 13½d. per lb. In the following year it rose to 16d., and in the next nine years it ranged from a fraction under that rate to 20½d. The highest average for eighty years up to the end of the century, however, was that of 1864, when it was 27½d. per lb. It was over 20d. in six of the next ten years, and did not fall below 15d. till after 1878. But a drop to 12½d. in 1879 added to the misfortunes of that disastrous year, and the average of Lincoln wool has never been as high since, the minimum of 7½d. having been reached in the last year of the century. Our net imports of sheep and lamb's wool in 1879 were 153,757,000 lb., and they reached the maximum of 394,342,000 lb. in 1898, falling to 332,857,000 lb. in 1900.

The first three harvests of the 'eighties' were poor, but all the rest were good or fair; while crops were better still, on the whole, in the 'nineties.' But, with prices as low as they were after 1883, it was difficult to make corn-growing yield a living profit, even in the best of seasons, and the acreage under corn continued to decline. The area under wheat, which had been over 4,000,000 acres in the United Kingdom down to 1859, was still over 3,500,000 acres in Great Britain alone in 1871-75; but by 1900 it had fallen to 1,845,042 acres. The area under corn of all kinds had decreased from over 9½ million to a little over 7½ million acres. During the same period permanent pasture had gained nearly four million acres. An increase of less than a million cattle, with a decrease of over two million sheep, showed that what had been lost in corn had not been gained in meat production. On the other hand, a great increase had taken place in the cultivation of fruit, both in the open and under glass.

With respect to the cost of labour, Mr Bowley's average for England and Wales in 1879-81, derived from returns not specified, was 13s. 9d., as compared with Caird's 9s. 6d. in 1851; and he gives 13s. 4d. for 1892-3, as the average brought out by the Royal Commission on Labour which

Association established the British Dairy Institute, while the Bath and West of England Society started a travelling dairy school and a cheese school, and the County Councils and Agricultural Colleges set up dairy schools and classes. There has thus been a remarkable extension of technical instruction in this branch of agriculture. The invention of the centrifugal cream separator in 1877 and the introduction of the butter-worker revolutionised the butter-making industry, while the general use of the thermometer in churning and the improvement of all the implements and appliances of the dairy had a marked effect.

Indications are not lacking to show that agricultural education, which made giant strides in the last thirty years of the century, has done much to mitigate the depression in agriculture, by teaching farmers, and particularly those who have lately entered into business, how to make the best of their resources. In 1868 a grant was given by Parliament to the chair of Agriculture in the University of Edinburgh, and in the following year the Senior Examinations of the Royal Agricultural Society were started; while in 1870 the Science and Art Department added the Principles of Agriculture to the subjects for which grants were made to elementary schools, and, later on, established classes for the training of the teachers in those schools. In 1874 the Agricultural School at Aspatria was founded by local gentlemen; in 1877 the Royal Agricultural Society began to carry out field and stock-feeding experiments, similar to those of Sir John Lawes and Sir J. H. Gilbert, on a farm at Woburn granted by the Duke of Bedford; and in 1880 the Downton Agricultural College was started by Professor Wrightson as a private venture. In 1884 the University College of North Wales, which has an Agricultural Division, was founded; and since that year seven similar institutions, now ranking with the North Wales College as collegiate centres of agricultural instruction, have been established in South Wales, Yorkshire, Durham, Kent, Nottingham, Reading, and Cambridge. In England we have also the Agricultural College at Uckfield, Sussex, the Colonial College at Hollesley Bay, Suffolk, the Agricultural and Horticultural School in Cheshire, the Eastern Counties Dairy Institute, the Midland Dairy Institute, the Harris Institute at Preston, and schools of less importance in which agri-

cultural instruction is systematically given. In Scotland besides the Agricultural Division of Edinburgh University, there is the West of Scotland Agricultural College, formed in 1900 out of the Glasgow Technical College; and the Kilmarnock Dairy School, founded some years ago, which is now affiliated to the West of Scotland College. Finally, during the last decade of the century, the County Councils have made a great advance in the organisation of classes, lectures, and experiments in relation to agriculture, as well as to other branches of technical education.

The present Board of Agriculture, which, in 1889, took the place of the Agricultural Department of the Privy Council, established in 1883, administers the funds granted by Parliament for the assistance of agricultural colleges and similar centres of instruction, and for agricultural research and experiments. Such experiments are carried on by all, or nearly all, the agricultural colleges or divisions of colleges, some of which have farms of their own for the purpose.

The instruction given to lads and young men, who have since become landlords, land agents, or farmers, has had a great effect in rendering practice more scientific. A similar influence has been exercised by the field and stock-feeding experiments carried out in various parts of the country, and the reports upon them, as well as by articles in agricultural papers and periodicals, and the numerous manuals on agriculture and kindred subjects published during the last twenty years. Among the latter must be named the books and reports published by Miss Ormerod, giving the results of her valuable investigations in reference to injurious insects and the best methods of destroying them. Anything new in varieties of plants grown on farms, in combinations of manures, in economy of stock-feeding, in the destruction of animal or vegetable pests, or in mechanical invention, becomes speedily known to all reading farmers in these times of wide-spread information. Spraying for the prevention of potato disease, introduced only a few years ago, has lately been extensively practised; and the still later plan of spraying for the destruction of charlock (wild mustard) has been carried out in many parts of the country. The spraying of fruit trees for the destruction of injurious insects, too, has recently become general among advanced fruit-growers.

Art. III.—ANCIENT AND MODERN CRITICISM.

1. *A History of Æsthetic.* By Bernard Bosanquet. London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1892.
2. *L'Anarchie Littéraire.* Par Charles Recolin. Paris: Perrin, 1898.
3. *A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe.* By George Saintsbury. Vol. I. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1900.
4. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus: The Three Literary Letters.* By W. Rhys Roberts. Cambridge University Press, 1901.

Is it possible for society in its collective capacity to exercise a reasoned judgment in matters of art and taste? Fifty years ago the answer to this question would unhesitatingly have been in the affirmative. For two centuries the sovereign centre of the community, wherever it lay, had succeeded, by whatever means, in stamping its own character on the art and literature of the time. After the Restoration of the Monarchy the controlling influence proceeded from the Court; after the Revolution of 1688 taste was directed by an alliance between the ruling statesmen and the critics of the coffee-houses; from the middle of the eighteenth century till the first Reform Bill, and for some years later, the body of opinion formed in the preceding generations, though it was being rapidly decomposed, maintained its authority in the drawing-rooms of 'society' and in the leading literary reviews, and therefore formed a contributory factor in artistic production. In all these epochs it is possible for the historian to recover, through the national art, an image of the character of contemporary social taste.

But in our day this authoritative direction no longer exists. The public, an innumerable multitude of individuals, with contradictory instincts capable of being æsthetically pleased, craves omnivorously for novelties, which are no less capriciously provided for it by the artist. Its taste resembles the course of one of those great Indian rivers which, after being swelled not only with the rainfall of the mountains but with the mud and sand of the plain, often freakishly shifts its bed and, sweeping away, to the despair of the engineer, villages and capitals, bridges and temples, finds a passage to the sea by some unexpected

very little of those whom Mr Bosanquet regards as their predecessors.

‘The Aristotelian principle of Imitation,’ says Hartmann, ‘and the Platonic abstract idealism are rightly held to be of no further moment for æsthetic theory; while Aristotle’s “Poetic,” owing to Lessing’s glorification of it, has still an undeserved reputation, and Plato’s obscure indications of æsthetic views are obviously not worth the emphasis that is laid on them.’

Nothing in fact need be considered by the German philosopher before the genesis of the modern æsthetic philosophy of Kant. And this is undoubtedly the case—for the German philosopher. But on the other hand German philosophy throws no ray of light, as Mr Bosanquet had led us to hope that it would, on the practice of fine art. If we wish to be informed of ‘the six orders of formal beauty—unconscious formal beauty or the sensuously pleasant; the mathematically and the dynamically pleasing; the passively teleological (as shown for example in decorative beauty); the vital, bearing of course a substantial relation to some of the mathematical and dynamical forms; and last of the “formal” orders, the regular or normal type in any species’—we shall find plenty of metaphysical speculation of this kind from the days of Schiller and Schelling down to those of Hartmann. But if we ask what light all this reasoning throws on the beautiful things of poetry, painting, and sculpture, we shall ask in vain. German æsthetic theory reminds us of the debates of the fallen angels in Pandemonium:—

‘Others apart sat on a hill retir’d,
In thoughts more elevate, and reasoned high
Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
Fixt fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,
And found no end, in wand’ring mazes lost.’

We set out on our enquiry, hoping by the *a priori* road to arrive at some conclusion which would show us whether a concrete work of art was or was not beautiful. But when we ask for artistic bread, Mr Bosanquet tells us we must be contented with the stone of æsthetic theory. Moreover:

‘If we turn from the critical and reflective appreciation of beauty to the realm of beautiful production, it is idle to deny

man always as a 'political being,' and, viewing him in his social capacity and his social actions, is fully justified, when judging of orators and poets, in taking into account those moral sentiments which affect all the conditions of active life. On the contrary, Kant and the German philosophers, who analyse man in the abstract, take him out of that social sphere in which all his æsthetic powers are really exercised, and hence eliminate one of the conditions of life in judging of art.

Mr Saintsbury again blames Aristotle for undervaluing the importance of style, and compares him in this respect disadvantageously with Longinus. The passage in the 'Rhetoric' on which he grounds his opinion is: *Tò περὶ τὴν λέξιν ὄψε προήλθεν καὶ δοκεῖ φορτικὸν εἶναι, καλῶς ὑπολαμβάνόμενον.* In Mr Saintsbury's paraphrase this is supposed to mean: 'Style is a modern thing and, rightly considered, something *ad captandum*.' But our author here completely misinterprets Aristotle's meaning. Dr Welldon rightly translates the whole passage:

'But up to the present time, no scientific treatise upon declamation has been composed, for it was not till a late date that the art of style itself made any progress, and declamation (*ὑποκριτικὴ*) is still popularly considered, and indeed rightly supposed, to be something vulgar.' (Aristotle, 'Rhetoric,' III, i.)

Clearly this does not involve a disparagement of *λέξις* but of *ὑποκριτικὴ*.

Cicero, in Mr Saintsbury's hands, fares, however, much worse than Aristotle. We are told:

'He seems to have thought Oratory the roof and crown of things literary, the queen of literary kinds, to which all others were ancillary, pedagogic, mere exercising grounds and sources of convenient ornament. No one so thinking could make any great proficiency in literary criticism, and Cicero did not make any such.'

Considering that the business of Cicero in the 'De Oratore' and the 'Brutus' was to discuss oratory and orators, it is difficult to see why he should be blamed for abstaining from criticism on literature generally. But Mr Saintsbury is determined to prove that he was wanting in literary taste, and he does so in a manner which we think he will see, on reflection, is unfair, namely by misrepresent-

Greeks is, in his opinion, the *Περὶ Ὑψους* ascribed to Longinus. Of this work he says :

‘This brings us to his greatest claim of all—that is to say, his attitude towards his subject as a whole. Although he nowhere says as much in so many words, no one can read his book with attention—above all, no one can read it again and again critically—without seeing that to him literature was not a schedule of forms, departments, kinds, with candidates presenting themselves for the critic to admit them to one or the other, on and during their good behaviour, but a body of matter to be examined according to its fruits, according to its provision of the literary pleasure.’

In another place he speaks almost rhapsodically of Longinus’ saying, that ‘beautiful words are in deed and in fact the very light of the spirit,’ which Mr Saintsbury calls ‘the Declaration of Independence and the “Let there be Light” at once of Literary Criticism.’

Here we think the praise of this author and the implied depreciation of his predecessors are alike disproportionate. We concur, indeed, in all that Mr Saintsbury says of the excessive dryness of the Greek technical treatises on rhetoric, but we do not think that this necessarily shows the insensibility of the Greek critics in general to the beauty of literary form. It would, indeed, have been strange if the countrymen of Sophocles had been unable to judge critically of the merits of the ‘*Œdipus Coloneus*’; and we know in fact that judges representative of the audience were appointed to decide the prizes in the dramatic exhibitions at the Dionysia. These judges, though they may have often judged wrongly, must have been capable of the same kind of literary judgment as ourselves. On the other hand, while we do not yield to Mr Saintsbury in our admiration for the critical acumen and enthusiasm of the author of the *Περὶ Ὑψους*, we are by no means of opinion that his criticism differs in *kind* from that of other Greek writers on rhetoric. His treatise is addressed to his friend Terentianus, professedly in consequence of his dissatisfaction with what Cæcilius, the writer of an earlier work on rhetoric, had said on the subject of the Sublime; and if we had Cæcilius’ criticism we should doubtless find that it had suggested many of the thoughts as well as the illustrations of the *Περὶ Ὑψους*. In his arrangement the writer

universe, which is beyond our power, nor as to the course of literature in the past, which is unalterable, but as to a state of things which is largely dependent on the exercise of our own will and energy, in a society where every free man is able to exert some influence. No one has had a larger experience of practical criticism than Mr Saintsbury: he knows very well that the description which M. Recolin gives of the public taste is true. Does he then think it the duty of a critic, when he sees what he considers to be a 'sin' or a 'fault' or an 'error' in a book, to expose it in the light of fixed principles? or should the critic, with an Epicurean indifference, be content merely to set forth the motives of his author without pronouncing whether these are good or bad? The latter is the course adopted by M. Recolin. He endeavours to disguise from himself the consequences of the existing anarchy by faintly trusting 'the larger hope.'

'I am completely reassured,' he says, 'by a page of M. Doumic, who reminds us in one of his studies that the first years of the seventeenth century presented the same feverish symptoms as those which we experience to-day. Obscurity, affectation, a rage for Spanish and Italian literature, bad taste triumphing in the theatre with Hardy, in poetry with Scarron, a mixture of cynical eroticism and pious effusions among the poets themselves, artistic cliques, the centres of a debauched bohemianism, each with its Verlaine or its Bruant—such are the fruits of anarchy—so like those of our own epoch—to be observed in the dawn of the "Grand Siècle," the most reasonable, the most glorious, of all centuries.'

Mr Saintsbury is not likely to be deluded by such an argument as this. He is too well acquainted with the course of literary history not to recognise the essential difference between the anarchy of the *blasé* self-conscious society of the twentieth century and the chaotic conflict of opinion in the first years of the seventeenth; while the French mind was still agitated by the recollections of civil war, and distracted between the antagonistic ideals of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Middle Ages; before the Monarchy had centralised in itself all the political powers of the nation; before the Academy had been founded to control with its logic the tendencies of the national thought and language. He knows that the taste of Hardy had as

exists, or of the nature of the internal structure by which it is sustained: hence arose their syllogistic method of reasoning, which passed on from them to the mediæval schoolmen, and which found its most striking embodiment alike in the poetry and in the philosophy of Dante.

We observe, therefore, with much satisfaction, that the whole subject of Greek criticism is being taken in hand by so sound and thorough a scholar as Mr Rhys Roberts, and we heartily welcome the instalment of his work that has recently appeared in his excellent edition of 'The Three Literary Letters of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.' Dionysius is an admirable critic, manly, searching, sane, yet capable (as his appreciation of Demosthenes shows) of genuine enthusiasm. He approaches, perhaps, more nearly than any ancient writer to Mr Saintsbury's ideal of 'literary criticism,' and we are glad to see that the latter speaks of him with fitting respect; indeed, we are not ourselves disposed to admit that there is so wide an interval in critical genius between him and the author of *Περὶ Τύχης* as Mr Saintsbury maintains. In any case a better example of the value of criticism, based on definite principles and directed towards a definite end, than the works of Dionysius, cannot be found.

Secondly, ancient criticism furnishes us, both unconsciously by the light of history, and by the reasoning of some of the most illustrious critics, with a clue to the cause of decay in artistic expression, namely the poverty and triviality of social aims. Mr Saintsbury gives an admirably generalised view of the character of school rhetoric in the Alexandrian ages:—

'As the practical importance of oratory declined, the technical and "sporting" interest of Rhetoric got more and more the upper hand. Rhetoricians specialised their terminology, multiplied their classifications, and drew their rules ever finer and finer, just as croquet players narrow their hoops and bulge out their balls, just as whist-players split and wire-draw the broad general principles of the play of Deschappelles and Clay into "American leads," and an endless reverberation of "calls" and "echoes." We possess a very large, and a more curious than interesting, collection of the technical writings of this half craft, half sport, and a collection rather less in proportion, but a little more interesting, of examples of the finished handiwork or game.'

tion], the ancient and philosophic rhetoric was flouted, grossly outraged and brought lower and lower. Its decline and gradual decay began with the death of Alexander of Macedon, and in our own generation it reached the verge of final extinction. Another rhetoric stole into its place—one intolerably ostentatious, shameless and dissolute, and without part in philosophy or any other liberal discipline. Craftily it deluded the ignorant multitude. Not only did it live in greater affluence and luxury and style than its predecessor, but it attached to itself those offices and those foremost public positions which should have been held by the philosophic rhetoric. Very vulgar it was and offensive, and in the end it reduced Hellas to the same plight as the household of miserable prodigals."

Now if this be so, we, in the third place, obtain from ancient criticism a sound measure for determining to what extent moral considerations should be allowed to enter into our judgments of fine art. We acquiesce in the justice of all that Mr Saintsbury says about the mistakes made by the great majority of Greek critics, in letting their moral prepossessions pervert their conceptions of the true functions of artistic imitation. Plato's condemnation of poetry, on moral and philosophical grounds, and Plutarch's pedagogic comments on the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey,' are instructive examples of the mischief caused by regarding moral instruction as the final cause of art. But Aristotle arrived at a sounder conclusion; he held that, as imitation was the outward object of art, so the effect of pleasure produced in the mind was the inward end of fine art, and the test of its value. Hence his criticism was based entirely on æsthetic principles. Nevertheless he was far from agreeing with the modern view, that moral considerations are to be excluded from æsthetic judgments.

'In his praise as little as in his blame,' says Mr Butcher, here, as always, a lucid interpreter of Aristotle's meaning, 'does Aristotle look to the moral content of a poem. . . . Not that Aristotle would set aside, as a matter of indifference, the moral content of a poem or the moral character of the author. Nay, they are all-important factors in producing the total impression which has to be made upon the hearer. Tragedy being the imitation of life, of human welfare and human misery, the pleasure it communicates could not conceivably be derived from a poem which misinterprets human destiny and holds up low ideals of life and conduct.'

Art. IV.—PASTEUR AND HIS DISCOVERIES.

1. *La vie de Pasteur.* Par René Vallery-Radot. Paris: Hachette, 1900.
2. *Pasteur.* By Percy Frankland and Mrs. Percy Frankland. (Century Science Series.) London: Cassell, 1898.
3. *The Soluble Ferments and Fermentation.* By J. Reynolds Green. (Cambridge Natural Science Manuals.) Cambridge University Press, 1899.
4. *Micro-organisms and Fermentation.* By Alfred Jørgensen. Translated by A. K. Miller and A. E. Lennholm. Third Edition. London: Macmillan, 1900.

As one walks down the Rue des Tanneurs, in the small provincial town of Dôle, where the main line from Paris to Pontarlier sends off a branch north-east towards Besançon, a small tablet set in the *façade* of a humble dwelling catches the eye. It bears the following inscription in gilt letters: 'Ici est né Louis Pasteur le 27 décembre 1822.'

Pasteur came of the people. In the heraldic meaning of the term, he was emphatically not 'born.' His forbears were shepherds, peasants, tillers of the earth, millers, and latterly, tanners. But he came from amongst the best peasantry in Europe, that peasantry which is still the backbone of the great French nation. The admirable care with which records are preserved in France has enabled Pasteur's son-in-law and latest biographer to trace the family name in the parish archives back to the beginning of the seventeenth century, at which period numerous Pastors were living in the villages round about the Priory of Mouthe, 'en pleine Franche-Comté.'

The first to emerge clearly from the confused cluster of possible ancestors is a certain Denis Pasteur, who became miller to the Comte d'Udressier, after whom he doubtless named his son Claude, born in 1683. Claude in his turn became a miller, and died in the year 1746. Of his eight children, the youngest, Claude-Etienne, was the great-grandfather of Louis Pasteur. The inhabitants of Franche-Comté were, in large part, serfs—'gens de mainmorte,' as they termed them then. Claude-Étienne, being a serf, at the age of thirty wished to enfranchise himself; and this he did in 1763, by the special grace of 'Messire

Philippe - Marie - Francois, Comte d'Udressier, Seigneur d'Écleux, Cramans, Lemuy, et autres lieux,' and on the payment of four *louis-d'or*. He subsequently married and had children. His third son, Jean-Henri, who for a time carried on his father's trade of tanner at Besançon, seems to have disappeared at the age of twenty-seven, leaving a small boy, Jean-Joseph Pasteur, born in 1791, who was brought up by his grandmother and his father's sister.

Caught in the close meshes of Napoleon's conscription, Jean-Joseph served in the Spanish campaign of 1812-13, as a private in the third regiment of infantry, called 'le brave parmi les braves.' In course of time he was promoted to be sergeant-major, and in March 1814 received the Cross of the Legion of Honour. Two months later the abdication had taken place; and the regiment was at Douai, reorganising under the name of 'Régiment Dauphin.' Here was no place for Jean-Joseph, devoted to the Imperial Eagle and unmoved by the Fleur-de-lys. He received his discharge, and made his way across country to his father's town, Besançon. At Besançon he took up his father's trade and became a tanner; and, after one feverish flush during the Hundred Days, and one contest, in which he came off victor, with the Royalist authorities, who would take his sword to arm the town police, he settled down into a quiet, law-abiding citizen, more occupied with domestic anxieties than with the fate of empires.

Hard by the tannery ran a stream, called La Furieuse, though it rarely justified its name. Across the stream dwelt a gardener named Roqui; amongst the gardener's daughters one Jeanne-Étiennette attracted the attention of, and was attracted by, this old campaigner of twenty-five years. The curious persistence of a family in one place, combined with the careful preservation of parish records, enables M. Vallery-Radot to trace the family Roqui back to the year 1555. We must content ourselves with Jeanne-Étiennette, who in 1815 married Jean-Joseph. Shortly afterwards the young couple moved to Dôle and set up house in the Rue des Tanneurs.

Louis Pasteur's father was a somewhat slow, reflective man; a little melancholic, not communicative; a man who lived an inner life, nourished doubtless on the memories of the part he had played on a larger stage than a tannery affords. His mother, on the other hand, was active in

business matters, hard-working, a woman of imagination, prompt in enthusiasm.

Before Louis Pasteur was two years old, his parents moved first to Marnoz and then to a tannery situated at the entrance to the village of Arbois; and it was Arbois that Pasteur regarded as his home, returning in later life year after year for the scanty absence from his laboratory that he annually allowed himself. Trained at the village school, he repeated with his father every evening the task of the day. He showed considerable talent, and his eagerness to learn was fostered by the interest taken in him by M. Romanet, principal of the College of Arbois. At sixteen he had exhausted the educational resources of the village; and, after much heart-searching and anxious deliberation, it was decided to send the young student to Paris to continue his studies at the Lycée Saint-Louis. It was a disastrous experiment. Removed so far from all he knew and loved, Louis suffered from an incurable home-sickness, which affected his health. His father hearing this came unannounced to Paris, and with the simple words 'Je viens te chercher' took him home. Here for a time he amused himself by sketching the portraits of neighbours and relatives, but his desire to learn was unquenched, and within a short time he entered as a student at the Royal College of Franche-Comté at Besançon. This picturesque town, situated only thirty miles from Arbois, was within easy reach of his home; and, above all, on market days his father came thither to sell his leather.

At eighteen Pasteur received the degree of Bachelier ès lettres, and almost immediately was occupied in teaching others; but Paris, although once abandoned, was again asserting its powers of attraction, and by the autumn of 1842 he was once more following the courses at the Lycée Saint-Louis. He also attended the brilliant lectures of Dumas at the Sorbonne, and vividly describes the scene: 'An audience of seven or eight hundred listeners, the too frequent applause, everything just like a theatre.' At the end of his first year in Paris he achieved his great ambition, and succeeded in entering the École Normale, and entering it with credit.

For the last year or two Pasteur had been studying mathematics and physics; at the École Normale he espec-

ments. On examining the crystals of sodium-ammonium salt of racemic acid, he noticed that certain facets giving a degree of asymmetry were always found on the crystals of the optically active salts and acids. On examining the crystals of the racemic acid, he did not find, as he had expected, perfect symmetry, but he saw that, whilst some of the crystals showed these facets to the right, others showed them to the left. In fact, sodium-ammonium racemate consisted of a mixture of right-handed and left-handed crystals, which neutralised one another as regards the polarisation of light, and were thus optically inactive. With infinite patience Pasteur picked out the right- from the left-handed crystals, and investigated the action of their solutions on polarised light. As he expected, the one sort turned the plane of polarisation to the left, the other to the right. A mixture of equal weights of the two kinds of crystals remained optically inactive. 'Tout est trouvé,' he exclaimed; and rushing from the laboratory, embraced the first man he came across. 'C'était un peu comme Archimède,' as his biographer gravely remarks.

His work immediately attracted attention. Biot, who had devoted a long and strenuous life to the problems of polarisation, was at first sceptical, but after a careful investigation was convinced. Pasteur began to be talked about in the circle of the Institute.

In the midst of these researches, Pasteur's mother died suddenly, and her son, overwhelmed with grief, remained for weeks almost silent and unable to work. Shortly after this we find the old longing revived; and Pasteur sought at any cost some post near Arbois, somewhere not quite out of the reach of those he loved. Besançon was refused him, but at the beginning of 1849 he replaced M. Persoz as Professor of Chemistry at Strasbourg.

The newly appointed Rector of the Academy of Strasbourg, M. Laurent, had already gained the respect and the affection of the professoriate. He and his family were the centre of the intellectual life of the town. Within a few weeks of his arrival, Pasteur addressed to the Rector a letter, setting forth in simple detail his worldly position and asking the hand of his daughter Marie in marriage. The wedding took place on the 29th May, 1850; and there is a tradition that Pasteur, immersed in some chemical experiment, had to be fetched from the laboratory to take

sultations with his assistants and the most anxious deliberations, he consented to the inoculation of the boy. The next fortnight was a time of intense anxiety, but all went well. His second patient is commemorated by the bronze statue which ornaments the front of the Pasteur Institute in Paris. It represents the struggle between a peasant boy armed only with his sabot, and a mad dog; the boy was terribly bitten, but the treatment saved his life. It is not easy to arrive at an accurate estimate of the death-rate caused by rabies; but the most careful and moderate estimates show that, before this treatment was in use, some fifteen to twenty out of every hundred persons bitten by mad dogs died a most painful and horrible death. During the last fourteen years, over 23,000 persons known to have been bitten by rabid dogs have been inoculated at the Pasteur Institute; and their average mortality has been 0·4 per cent. In 1899, the latest year for which statistics are available, 1614 cases were treated, with a mortality of 0·25 per cent. Of these 1506 were French and 108 were foreigners. Of the 108 foreigners, 12 came from Great Britain and 62 from British India. It is little short of a national disgrace that we should still be dependent on French aid to succour those amongst us who are so unfortunate as to be bitten by a mad dog; but the nation which gave the use of anæsthetics to the world, and which first showed the value of antiseptics, is largely dependent to-day on foreign aid in dealing with great outbreaks of all sorts of diseases within its borders. The German Koch and the Russian Haffkine are called in to cope with the cholera in India; we fall back upon the Swiss Yersin and the Japanese Kitasato to elucidate the true nature of plague, and to devise methods for combating its ravages. When rinderpest breaks out in South Africa it is again to Koch that we turn. The unsatisfactory position of Great Britain in these matters is to some extent due to a small but active section of society whose affection for their lap-dogs has overpowered their sense of duty to their neighbours. It is, however, we fear, still more due to the unintelligent treatment of men of science by the Government of the country, and to the want of appreciation of the value of science shown by society at large. If, to balance the list given a few lines above, we recall the work of our country-

It was at once cordially welcomed by the English technical press, partly because it was the only book in which water-tube boilers were treated in an exhaustive manner, but chiefly on account of the author's extensive experience as Director of Naval Construction and head of the Technical Department in the French Navy. The information published was entirely practical, and much of it was new, while the opinions expressed were absolutely without bias. In the hands of Mr Robertson, who is not merely a translator, but also an engineer of wide experience, the work has been improved in some respects. The original text has been adhered to, except that certain sections, in which the ground was already covered by standard English works, have been abridged. But other sections of special importance have been extended and brought up to date; metric figures converted into English; and a full index added, so that for the English reader the translation is handier than the original. There is no water-tube boiler of importance which is not illustrated and described in its pages. The accounts given are, moreover, not merely descriptive, for the scientific facts which underlie the practical problems involved are clearly explained. In the preparation of this article we have also availed ourselves of data supplied by most of the leading firms of boiler-makers, and of numerous technical articles in the engineering journals.

The boiler question has arisen in consequence of the enormous steam pressure at which modern engines have to be worked to propel battleships at high speeds. During a quarter of a century the pressures in steam boilers have been increased from 25 lb. per square inch to 250 lb. An incident easily recalled by those in middle life is the terrible explosion of the boilers of the *Thunderer* in 1876, by which forty men lost their lives and over seventy were injured. The working pressure on those boilers was only 30 lb. on the square inch. This fact indicates how radically the question has changed within a generation.

In offering a non-technical explanation of the difficulties which surround this problem, it is necessary to refer briefly to what has happened in the Navy in regard to the types which are either obsolete or rapidly becoming so. We know, apart from mathematical demonstration that a plane surface is less adapted

withstand pressure. Now all the early boilers of the Thunderer class had flat surfaces, which sufficiently accounts for their weakness. They were termed 'box-boilers,' and were, in fact, huge square boxes; and, though their broad areas were reinforced with bolts and stays, they could not be worked to more than from 25 lb. to 30 lb. to the inch. This is the reason why they were superseded—when the necessity for higher power arose—by cylindrical boilers, in which pressures leaped at once to 55 and 60 lb. These were, and are still, called 'Scotch' boilers, because the type was first introduced on the Clyde. The necessity for still higher engine-power grew rapidly as battleships became loaded with armour; and then the limitations to the thickness and size in which boiler-plates could be manufactured—imposed by the use of wrought iron—threatened to arrest further growth. It was difficult with this material to obtain with safety pressures of more than 60 to 80 lb. to the square inch. But the inventions of Bessemer and Siemens appeared most opportunely; and these, besides affording a material from thirty to forty per cent. stronger than iron, permitted the casting and rolling of plates much thicker and larger than the iron-mills were able to produce. Thus the Scotch boiler took on a new lease of life. Nevertheless, though larger and thicker plates were rolled, pressures increased in an even greater ratio, until they have now attained in liners 180 and 200 lb. to the square inch, which appears to mark the last stage at which, for various practical reasons, it is possible to employ the Scotch boiler. These pressures, however, are not high enough for the expansion engines of heavily laden armoured ships or swift torpedo-boats, for which steam at 250 lb. per inch is demanded, and in certain cases used, while the enormous dead-weight of the boilers themselves is a very serious drawback. The weight of the Scotch boiler has always been so grave an objection to its employment on torpedo-boats, that, until the advent of the water-tube boiler, the locomotive type was used.

The power of the Scotch boiler has been increased, not only by making its plates thicker, and its dimensions larger, but also by sending an artificial current of air into the furnace. In other words, instead of depending on natural draught induced by a chimney, an excess of air is forced into the furnaces under pressure—'forced

and upwards in locomotive and marine boilers, steam would not be generated with sufficient rapidity to maintain the requisite speed and power. But the difference between the tubular boiler of the locomotive or the Scotch type, and the water-tube boiler, is that, while each has hundreds of tubes, *fire* and hot gases pass through the tubes of the former, while *water* circulates through those of the latter. Having disposed of these cardinal facts, we propose now to explain briefly the essential differences in

Fig. 1.—Vertical section, taken lengthwise, of the 'Scotch' or Cylindrical Return-tube Boiler.

the internal arrangements of the Scotch tubular boiler and the water-tube boilers.

The Scotch boiler, when viewed from outside, shows little to indicate its construction. It may be likened to a huge drum lying on its side. A large cylindrical casing, or 'shell,' of from 10 to 14 feet in diameter, with flat ends, built of thick steel plates strongly held together with rivets, encloses several cylindrical furnaces, ranging in number from two to eight, which are surrounded by the water contained in the outer shell. The furnace-doors are in one of the flat ends of the drum. A

in the headers, and by the insertion of an inner or water-circulating tube within the outer or boiling tube (see Fig. 5).

The German boiler—the Dürr (Fig. 6)—in which the

Fig. 4.—The Niclausse Boiler.

double tubes are also employed, differs from the Niclausse in the retention of flat water-spaces, instead of the separation into headers, as well as in certain details of fitting the tubes; but the result is substantially the same. The course

HEADER

Fig. 5.—Circulation in a Compound Tube in the Niclausse Boiler.

of the water and steam can be traced in the illustration by the arrows. The water descends from the collector or 'upper boiler' into the front portion of the flat water-chamber, and thence into the inner tubes; returning

farthest from, the fire form efficient circulating elements, due to the differences in weight of the columns of mixed steam and water in the first, and of solid water in the second. Yet in the majority of boilers of this class, the down-coming or return tubes form an essential element in the circulation. The Blechynden boiler resembles the Yarrow in having tubes which are nearly but not quite straight, being slightly bent to permit of expansion ; and it has no external return-tubes.

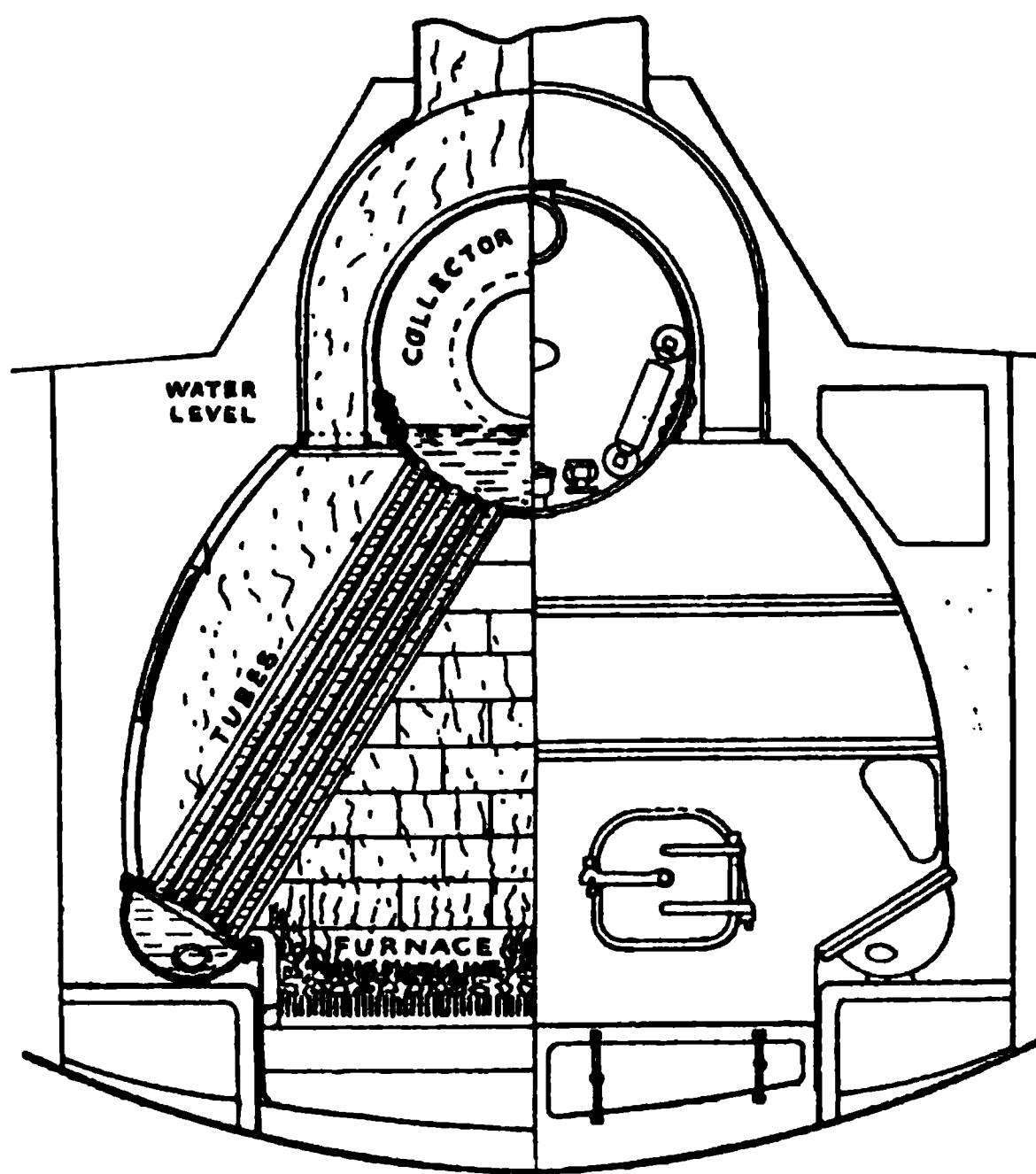


Fig. 8.—The Yarrow Boiler.

This brief account of the elements involved in the principal Navy types of water-tube boilers should deter one from hasty conclusions ; and if we consider further what requirements have to be fulfilled at sea, where every distinct class of vessel steams under different conditions, the folly of a dogmatic attitude will be yet more apparent.

The principal requirements that must be fulfilled by an efficient Navy boiler are as follows : occupation of the minimum of space, reduction of weight as far as practicable,

make and occupy a hovel on the land to which as a serf he was permanently attached. His shelter was included in the maintenance which by the custom of his servitude he was entitled to derive from the soil. History is strangely silent as to the early social conditions of the people, but we know enough to say that English country-folk in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were worse housed than any peasantry in Europe in the present day.

The most wretched period of social history is that in which the wants of the family are satisfied by the produce of their own holding. The self-sufficing family-life has long ago given place to the superior organisation of economic exchange. Traces linger here and there of the old order, and in some respects the relation of the agricultural labourer to his house is a survival of this earlier condition of things. Even at the present day the hiring of his cottage is not, for the agricultural labourer, an economic exchange of shelter for rent: he is still to a certain extent 'housed.' The cottage he inhabits is part of the complement of the farm, and he pays for it something less than an economic rent. The transaction is a species of 'truck.' The labourer, instead of receiving all his wages in coin of the realm, receives so many shillings a week and a house at a nominal rent. The bargain is open to the objection which can be made against all forms of 'truck,' namely that there is no secure standard of value. A good and a rich landlord may give value to the extent of 30s. in the pound, while a churlish or poor landlord will or can only give 15s. On the whole, and especially during the last thirty years, the English landlord has not been oblivious of the maxim *noblesse oblige*; and a great improvement has taken place in the cottages of the agricultural labourer. All the same we are glad to think that this improvement now rests, or is beginning to rest, on a more secure economic basis. The latest reports from agricultural districts seem to show that there is a dearth of labour. Two masters are running after one man; and the most hopeful sign of remedy for grievance under this head consists in the stronger economic position of the labourer. If the agricultural interest wishes to retain the labourer, it must give him adequate wages. It is immaterial whether a part of such wages is paid in kind or not: the main thing is that such kind, if any, shall represent good value. Our

and indeed only began to assert itself in the middle of the century which has just expired. To come down to comparatively recent times, the sanitary movement may be said to have begun in the office of the Poor Law Commissioners somewhere about the year 1837. Under the new Poor Law, auditors had disallowed certain charges of a miscellaneous kind, some of them in connexion with sanitation, which had formerly passed without challenge under the old parochial system; and Dr Arnott and Dr Southwood Smith were employed to report on the sanitary condition of parts of London, with a view of throwing light on the question of what charges of a sanitary character ought to be authorised by new legislation. Their views are given in the fourth and fifth reports of the Poor Law Commissioners; and most gruesome reading they furnish. A perusal of the whole report will convince any one that the condition of things at that date far exceeds in horror anything which the most sensational journalist can record of the present situation. We limit ourselves to one or two abbreviated quotations.

Lambs' Fields. Three hundred feet constantly covered summer and winter with stagnant water, and putrefying animal and vegetable matter. An open ditch encircles this place eight to ten feet wide. Privies of all the houses of a street open into this—privies completely uncovered, and the soil from them allowed to accumulate in the open ditch.

Some cottages at *Notting Dale* built over stagnant pools of water, which may be seen through the interstices of the floors. In some instances the floors have given way, and rest in the stagnant pool, while the other end, being still dry, contains the bed or straw mattress on which the family sleep.

Fleet Ditch is described as not a small drain, but almost a river of filth. Upon the very edge of this ditch many of the poor have their dwellings.

Highgate. A lodging-house which is inhabited by a great number of the lowest and most abandoned, three or more in a bed, which appears to be never changed or cleaned. Four or five beds in some rooms.

White's Rents, Shadwell. Dwellings of wood, inferior to common cattle-sheds; yet, because they had not been pulled down, they were inhabited by Irish families, who could not afford to live elsewhere, and were the prolific foci of fever to the surrounding neighbourhood.

Alfred and Beckwith Rows. Heaps of filth accumulated in

mitted to a plan of sewage treatment which experts tell us is radically unsound.

Even if we assume, as against Dr Poore, that water carriage of sewage is the only practicable one in large towns, every one who has had anything to do with the poorer class of tenants knows how difficult it is to keep the drains and sanitary arrangements of their houses in good working order. The system may be convenient and cheap, but it is not easily made safe and sanitary, especially in the poorer tenements.

This, then, is the first difficulty which has to be overcome. Other difficulties may be enumerated, many of them, like that of sewage, arising from the nature of things. For instance, the letting and hiring of house-room is a contract involving covenants of prolonged duration, demanding from a proletariat class a respect for contract which as yet is not a fully developed instinct. Every lease, even of a single room, implies an obligation on the part of the tenant, not only to pay rent, but to use the property carefully and to return it, if not in habitable repair, at least without structural damage. Now any one who has experience of this class of property knows how heavy are the losses from wilful damage and careless neglect. We have ourselves seen rooms, where window frames have been torn from their place, and used presumably for firewood. Mr Henry Spalding, addressing the Royal Institute of British Architects ('Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects,' April 1900), relates some of his experience as adviser to a Dwellings company:—

'I found I had to specify some peculiar things in order that the Society might not have the premises taken away bit by bit by the tenants. For instance, the wood skirtings had to be taken up, and cement skirtings put in their stead, as the tenants removed the former to light their fires. All lead pipes had to be avoided, and iron substituted, as that could not be so easily removed, and was, moreover, of little value.'

Bad tenants produce bad landlords, and the rift between the two classes easily extends. Each party is apt to protect himself by evading a liberal and honest performance of his contract; and the breach grows irreparable. An analogy, at once close and instructive, is furnished by the history of usury. The instinct, here also, towards

evasion, when an onerous covenant has to be performed, is very strong. Instead of the helpful relations which obtain between a banker and his customers, we are apt to find, in the humbler transactions of credit, mutual and unfortunately well-grounded distrust between the money-lender and his victim. One of the most beautiful expositions of the true beneficence of the economic order is to be found in the successful restoration of just fiduciary relations between lenders and borrowers of humble means which has been carried out by the co-operative banking system of Raiffeisen and his imitators, in Germany and Italy, and for which a promising start has been obtained by Mr Horace Plunkett in Ireland.

It is to this same principle that we must ascribe the success of the system of house management inaugurated by Miss Octavia Hill, and described in the little book named at the head of this article.* Anyone can build a house, but it requires a great deal of tact and patience, when it is let to rough tenants, to preserve their good-will, to induce them to adopt the habits of discipline required by our associated life, to obtain their aid in gradually improving the accommodation, and withal to earn a reasonable interest on the money invested. It is worth while noticing that this educational work, which really holds one key of the situation, has not been, and, so far as we can see, cannot be, touched by the local authorities who have entered on the trade of builders, nor, except to a very limited extent, by the great Industrial Dwellings companies.

These companies have practically picked their tenants. One (the East End Dwellings Co.) started with the professed object of catering for the lowest class, but large blocks inhabited by rough tenants proved very difficult to manage; and now practically all of the Dwellings companies take the position that they must provide for the better class of artisan, who presumably vacates quarters which are filled by the poorer class. The County Council has been met by the same difficulty, and admittedly has followed the precedent of the companies. This point of view is of great importance, for the difficulty is not to be overcome by a mere extension of building, necessary though that may be. Nor is the case met by enacting penalties against bad

* Cf. Miss Hill's valuable letter to the 'Times,' March 4th, 1901.

landlords, for, as Bentham long ago showed in the case of usury, such penalties only oblige the landlord to raise his terms against his tenants. There is among the poorest class a certain deficiency of sanitary sense, which constitutes a large part of the difficulty of providing them with good accommodation.

A still more serious difficulty is created by the rates. Our system of local rating may be defended on the ground that it is an income tax, assessed on the value of the ratepayer's house—a rough but not inequitable method of estimating his ability to pay. Not only has he to pay for services which have hitherto been performed for him by the rating authority, but of late years we have seen a considerable enlargement of the doctrine of parochial and civic status. Poor-relief on more elaborate and costly scale, education, libraries, and many other advantages have been secured to individuals, not as the result of contract, but as perquisites of their status as citizens. We pass no opinion on the policy, but it is perfectly obvious that, as Mr Spencer has remarked, we cannot build in this way without unbuilding to a corresponding extent elsewhere. When a poor man pays his rent, he is paying not only for his house-room, but for his share in certain other things which are being done for him. Speaking roughly, about one-fourth of the sum which the town workman pays, nominally for rent, is not for rent, but for rates. Public opinion, in its anxiety to promote the relief and education of the poor, has brought it about that between 3*d.* and 4*d.* of every shilling paid in rent is taken by the public authority to pay for many admirable things which have nothing to do with houses. There has been a good deal of idle talk about the incidence of rates. The main point is that if landlords retain for themselves only 8*d.* or 9*d.* out of the shilling, paying the balance to the public authority, supply will be restricted until the demand has forced up the rent to a sum sufficient to pay the normal rate of interest as well as the sum due to the public authority.

All of these causes have prevented the rapid increase and improvement of houses. Demand and supply have never got into sufficiently close touch to ensure the advantages which free trade elsewhere inevitably produces. Progress in this matter has lagged so far behind knowledge and expectation that legislation has been deemed necessary,

Within the last ten years two new influences have made themselves felt, and increased the difficulty of an already difficult situation. There has been a rise in the cost of building, estimated at over thirty per cent. This is partly due to dearer materials, but mainly to dearer labour. It has become therefore more and more difficult to put a good house on the market at a price which the workman will pay without bitter complaint. The high price of materials has, we believe, to a certain extent begun to cure itself by the natural operation of the market. The high wages of artisans engaged in all branches of the building trade are due, it may be hoped, to more permanent causes. The prosperous trade of the country, the rise of agricultural wages, tending to check the townward migration of labour, and generally the greater mobility which enables the labourer to avoid a falling and seek a rising market for his services, are legitimate advantages based on stable causes, and are not likely to be removed, but rather to be enhanced by the operation of economic competition. Part of the increase, it is alleged, is due to less legitimate causes. To some extent it is due not to the demand of the market, reflected, as it were, from the greater prosperity of the rest of the population, but to the coercive action of trade unions. The different operations of the building trade are divided up among artisans as if they were members of distinct oriental castes—a senseless and costly restriction on enterprise. Further, it is complained on all sides by employers that work is unduly protracted, and that, though higher wages are paid, less work is done. All these devices for increasing sectional and temporary gain, at the cost of the general industrial efficiency, are detrimental to the workman in the long run, and to the consumer, as well as to the employer; and, in so far as they are carried out by coercion, they deserve reprobation.

This rise of cost has put a check on private enterprise; and the diminished prospect of profit has, by a strange inconsequence, brought new competitors into the field. Owing to the alleged inability of private enterprise to meet the emergency, the London County Council and the Borough Councils are now embarking on the industry of house-building. To the scientific observer this has for some time appeared inevitable. So long ago as 1851 Mr

for carrying out (let us say) a spirited recreation policy, whereby the younger members of its subject population may obtain convenient cubic spaces for rope-skipping, peg-topping, and cricket—a benevolent proposal which would excite much enthusiasm. What, again, is the proper scale of comfort which ought to obtain in a workman's dwelling? Ought it, for instance, to have a service of hot and cold water all over the house? The answer in earlier days was: Certainly, if the tenant is willing and able to pay for it. Under a municipal monopoly this will be settled by public debate and impassioned appeal to the eternal fitness of things.

Elementary education has been made a municipal monopoly. The nature of the teaching, and the religious dogmas to be imparted to the children, have become the subject of bitter party recriminations. The positions and salaries of the staff are largely dictated by the Teachers' Union. Education is a great public boon, and these are inconveniences which we must bear. The system, however, it may be noted, is workable only because the beneficiaries (*i.e.* the parents and children) for the most part adopt an obstructive, rather than a propulsive attitude. If, as is proposed, the housing industry is cut adrift from the market, and entrusted as a public service to popularly elected bodies such as County and Borough Councils, their procedure will draw a continuous running fire of agitation not only from their employes, but from their tenants. It has been suggested by the town clerk of Birmingham, himself an ardent advocate of municipal enterprise, that municipal employes should be disqualified as voters. This seems a reasonable suggestion, but it would be impracticable to deprive municipal tenants of a vote. Already, we are informed, in certain provincial towns where the municipality has entered into the building trade, the risk of corruption appears so formidable that public opinion strongly favours a transfer of the municipal houses to a non-political trust. Even with this safeguard, it is not easy to see how the danger of corruption is to be avoided.

It seems to us inevitable that the business element in the municipal supply of houses will be thrust out, and that the system will become a disreputable mixture of politics and charity. When the monopoly of new houses has been

thus reducing the proportionate rent of cottages by at least a shilling a week.' No notice seems to have been taken of the 'stroke of the pen' that had for so long deprived the poor of this very obvious convenience. To this demand Mr Long has promised favourable consideration.* The point is of considerable importance, in view of the fact that the vast majority of the London poor live in streets of cottages. Most of this property is held on building leases granted in the first half of last century, and many of them are now falling in. Opportunities for reconstruction are therefore becoming frequent. Cottages will have to give place to more commodious buildings. The tendency of existing bye-laws is to obstruct inexpensive alterations. Larger schemes of rebuilding require capital and the intervention of the big Dwellings companies. Many of these have already large estates, and, in the present unpropitious state of the trade, are inclined to hold their hands. The expiring leaseholds are often in fairly good repair, though occasionally demolition and rebuilding will be necessary. There is here a considerable opening for enterprise of a semi-philanthropic character, or perhaps for corporate effort on the part of congregations of rich neighbourhoods. Dole-giving is happily out of fashion; and, as missions from richer communities, churches, colleges, and schools appear to be popular, we venture respectfully to recommend the business of house-management as a suitable outlet for their effort. This might be attempted either on the plan of Miss Octavia Hill, or by the erection of model dwellings with the advice and assistance of the successful Dwellings companies. It is here, in larger dwellings erected on the vast area now covered by leasehold cottages, and not in the suburban estates about to be developed by the London County Council, that the labouring population of London will probably prefer to live.

Again, with regard to rebuilding on cleared areas in the central parts of London, very interesting economic problems arise, which are quite as difficult for municipal as for private enterprise. Owing to the terms of the clearance Acts, and to the public spirit of great landlords like the late Duke of Westminster, certain areas have been devoted, at prices much below their market rate, to

* 'Standard,' March 6th, 1901.

exactness' of Montaigne; of the 'inmost religious placidity' of Wordsworth. Equally happy is his characterisation of Plato, compressed into one succinct sentence: 'his temperance or austerity, æsthetically so winning, is attained only by the chastisement, the control, of a variously interested, a richly sensuous nature'; or, the telling manner of describing the first effects of the Renaissance: 'how deeply the human mind was moved when, at the Renaissance, in the midst of a frozen world, the buried fire of ancient art rose up from under the soil.'

Pater's characteristic style is Hellenic, not so much in its blitheness, for it is less expressive of human joyousness in the spring-time of life than of the mellow maturity of autumn, as in the quality of ripeness which, as in the Hellenic ideal, he tells us, comes 'of a culture minute, severe, constantly renewed, rectifying, and concentrating its impressions into certain pregnant types . . . selecting, transforming, recombining the images it transmits, according to the choice of the imaginative intellect.' To this must be added the ineffable charm of a sober but never morbid tone of melancholy which pervades his writings. It is not 'that faintness and obscure dejection which clung like some contagious damp' to Coleridge's work, as Pater puts it in his 'Appreciations'; nor is it the ennui of modern Parnassians of the Degenerate type; it is the melancholy of introspection in an age when old and new faiths meet, in a transitional period which laments the lapse of the old and struggles with groping hands to take hold of the new. This leaves a hazy blurred effect on one's mind; it is exhibited in 'Marius the Epicurean' and 'Gaston de Latour,' and vividly suggests a similar state of mind in our own day. For this reason, too, Pater appears at times enigmatic: yet there is no lack of lucidity in his style. It is illuminated, moreover, as in the case of the enigmatic owner of the harp and the bow whom he paints in 'Apollo in Picardy,' by a seductive charm of colour and tone; whilst the magic of the impression is not that of instantaneous perception, but lingers on the mind as an image seen through a medium, the 'grey-blue' mist produced by his peculiar genius. Compared with Ruskin, whose manner is equally peculiar to himself, it might be said that Pater's style attracts by its subdued lustre, whilst that of Ruskin overpowers with its copious effulgence. Both are masters

unite what is best in the Pagan and the Christian ideals, after the manner of Dante—in ministering at once to the sense of beauty and spiritual devotion. It explains Pater's love for mediævalism, and the attraction which its æsthetic forms of worship exercise on cultured minds generally, irrespective of the doctrines it is supposed to symbolise. Nor does this tendency to religious devotion simply arise from a desire to satisfy a 'mystical appetite for sacred things,' or to still the cravings of the spiritual side of human nature; it is rather an effort of the cultured mind to express its aspiration after 'a sacred ideal, a transcendent version, or representation, under intenser and more expressive light and shade, of human life.' It clings, with a tender tenacity, to some residual essentials of religion, after eliminating those doctrinal accretions which, to the modern humanist, have lost their value.

Some very interesting illustrations of this state of mind are given in Pater's 'Imaginary Portraits.' Here the artist stands modestly behind his creations, never consciously obtruding his own impressions and opinions, yet involuntarily betraying them in his intent to give a faithful representation of the results of religious contention during seasons of transition, when cultured thought, no longer satisfied with popular forms of religion, tries to reconcile newly discovered or re-discovered truths with old traditions.

Thus, for example, in the case of the German Count, we see the working of a mind awakened by the discovery of an old Latin poem by Conrad Celtes, 'the hyperborean Apollo,' sojourning in the sluggish North for a season; and this suggests a course of humanistic culture. The Count turns his mind to art, music, and poetry, and the philosophy which interprets the life of man. He finds, however, that the way to perfection lies not altogether in that direction, that a pilgrimage to the Hellenistic land of promise does not conduct him thither, but that 'straight through life, straight through nature and man, with one's own self-knowledge as a light thereon, not by way of the geographical Italy or Greece, lay the road to the new Hellas, to be realised now as the outcome of home-born German genius.' In other words, humanism pure and simple fails to satisfy the finest minds completely.

What Pater puts thus vaguely and tentatively into the

by means of 'scientific exorcisms of old orthodox ghosts, restore their own,' and go no further. With these, however, we are not here concerned, but rather with those gentler spirits who, though fearless in speculation, and not deficient in intellectual integrity, maintain a cautious reserve, a 'fixed stability,' a calm attitude of suspense in arriving at, or giving voice to, definite religious opinions. We refer to those in whom the search after truth is mainly confined to matters relating to literature and art, whose 'scholarship attains to something of a religious colour,' or 'the contemplation of what is beautiful—a sort of perpetual service.' Thus, in his essay on Mérimée, Pater shows how these transfer to art and literature that high sense of duty which inspires others in their search after religious truth, and in this way produce work almost flawless in its quality. In the worship of genius, and the supreme devotion to culture, they display an attenuated amount of enthusiasm for religious research, and their creed assumes accordingly slight proportions. Their state of mind is admirably described in the following passage, taken from the essay referred to, though Prosper Mérimée goes beyond what follows in his negations.

'Fundamental belief gone, in almost all of us, at least some relics of it remain—queries, echoes, reactions, after-thoughts; and they help to make an atmosphere, a mental atmosphere, hazy perhaps, yet with many secrets of soothing light and shade, associating more definite objects to each other by a perspective pleasant to the inward eye against a hopefully receding background of remoter and ever remoter possibilities.'

This is all that is left—an exiguous remainder, no doubt; but more than this modern humanism will not, or cannot, retain; with less than this, excepting in a few instances here and there, it will not content itself. Why not? Because of the irrepressible feeling described as *Seelen-sehnsucht*, 'longing of the soul,' which the enjoyment of the 'ideal now,' intellectual accomplishments, artistic elegancies, and the like, cannot satisfy. The modern man of culture, like Pater's Marius, finds that life can alone attain to something like completeness with

'the advent of some new or changed spirit into the world, mystic, inward, hardly to be satisfied with that wholly external

incessantly till he attained a perfection to which no other man had aspired. He soon became able to make from 20 to 50 spots whenever he got position; later on he improved, and his best break of 346 points included 104 consecutive spot hazards. It was made in Saville House, Leicester Square, where he had rooms in 1860 and for some years afterwards.

He used to play there a good deal with Dufton, who was more of a teacher than a player, and who had the distinction, as may be learned from a testimonial presented on the occasion of his winning a game for 1000*l.* from E. Green, of 'obtaining . . . the respect of the various noblemen with whom he played.' It is further recorded that 'the high honour was conferred upon him of being selected by Earl Spencer to initiate His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' in the mysteries of the game.

Roberts was at his best during the sixties, and in some respects—notably in power of cue, though it sounds strange when the great subsequent advance of the game is considered—that best has never been surpassed, and possibly never equalled. He came up to London in 1860, having previously lived chiefly in Manchester and Liverpool; at his rooms many matches were played, and some of the best amateurs of the time were to be seen. His position as champion or best player was perfectly secure; and therefore the games with Bowles—who gave him harder work to win when giving 300 points than any other player—and with other competitors, need not be recalled.

But billiards was about to make great and rapid advances, due chiefly to Roberts's influence and example. The younger people came on after their manner; and by 1865 the names of Joseph Bennett, John Roberts junior, and William Cook began to be known as those of players of great promise, all having a more or less hereditary claim to eminence. Bennett was born in 1841, and had three brothers who played professionally; John Roberts, son of the champion, born in 1847, came next; Cook, born in 1849, was the youngest. Bennett was perhaps the first to give indication of superior skill, for he, with Hughes, played Roberts and Dufton, from whom they received 200 in 1000. Hughes, an experienced player, put Bennett in front of John Roberts to play safety, thereby effectually crippling Roberts's score, whilst he himself played out

physique should have been at his best, with nerve and experience to which no lad could pretend. His son is now 54, and his play has never been finer than during the past ten years. The idea that youth is essential to fine play is unsound; it arises, no doubt, from the fact that so many promising players are at their best when about 25 years old or even younger, and are all but useless soon after; this, however, is not from age but from the life they lead. With steadiness, moderation, and fair health, what men lose in activity, sight, and so on, after 35, is usually, for a considerable period, more than made up by experience and confidence. Whatever the reason may have been, Roberts's powers as a player had begun to fail before the match, and it would have been well if he had retired instead of playing; his subsequent rapid deterioration and final exit at the Aquarium, when a game he attempted with Bowles had to be stopped by the manager because neither player seemed able to end it, were matters of regret to those who remembered his better days. He died in 1893.

Cook was immediately challenged by John Roberts junior, who in April 1870 gained a decisive victory by 478 points in 1000. The result was unexpected and is not easy to explain. At starting 3 to 2 was laid on Cook, but he seemed to have a presentiment of failure. During the second hundred there was an unfortunate dispute as to a cannon, and Cook's nerve disappeared. As often happens in such cases, he had the worst of luck, and Roberts, seeing how matters were going, took 100% to 10% that he would win by half the game. Sixteen matches for the championship were played in fifteen years, three men only becoming champion, Cook, Bennett, and Roberts junior. The last-named, in his match with Bennett in 1885, won so decisively that no challenger has since appeared.

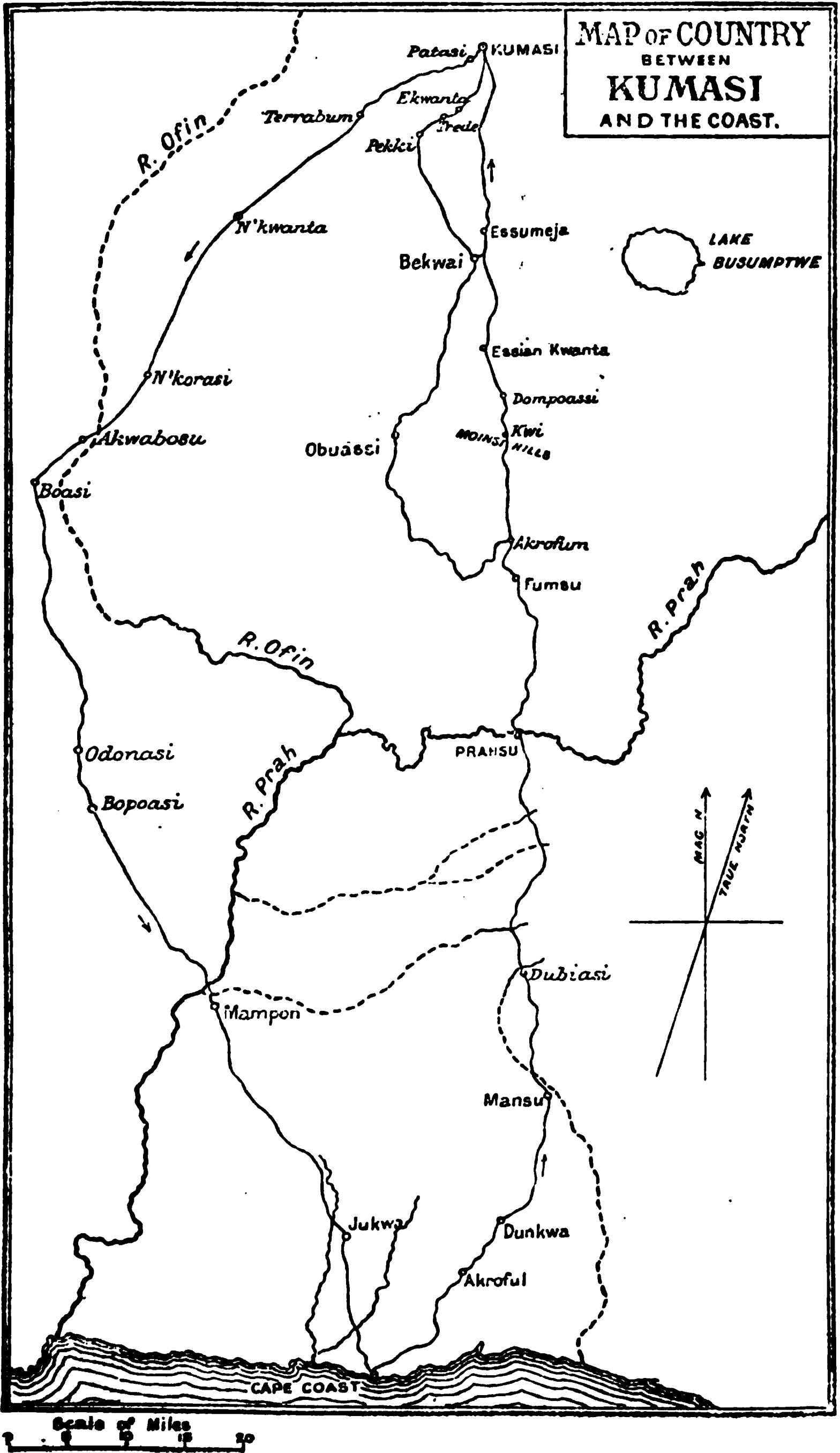
But whilst these matches on small-pocket tables were being played, exhibition games on ordinary tables were frequent; and for them the easier pockets were preferable. Handicaps too came into favour, first on the English and afterwards on the American system: in the former the defeated player retires, till two only are left to play the final game—consequently many players can enter; in the latter each player has to meet the others in succession, and the winner is he who, at the close of the tournament, has most games to his credit. Therefore competitors must

aggerate. On reaching Bekwai, it was found that the garrison there had been withdrawn to Esumeja in order to watch more effectually a big Adansi camp about a mile and a half north-east, from which at any moment an incursion into the king's friendly territory was to be expected. Every effort was made to communicate with the Governor in Kumassi without delay, but in spite of huge rewards no one was found willing to make the attempt. Patrols were sent in every direction to collect food for the columns which would be arriving later; and a strong palisade was run up, which enclosed a portion of the village, and provided a receptacle for munitions and stores which could be held against any sudden rush.

Although messengers from Prahsu were unable as a rule to penetrate the rebel lines round Kumassi, a few appear to have had the luck to get out; but several perished in the attempt. One of those who succeeded reached Bekwai on June 22nd with a tiny despatch in French about two inches square, in which the Governor stated that he could hold out till June 20th, but not later. As that date was already past, the only practicable course was adopted. Immediate action was impossible; but the forces were held ready to co-operate at any moment if a column from the fort should attempt to break through.

On June 29th the king of Bekwai received news through native sources that the Governor had broken out some days previously and was at N'kwanta, intending to proceed to the coast. Subsequent enquiries confirmed this report; and a few days later a letter arrived from the Governor himself, giving details of the escape, in which two white officers were killed, and fixing July 15th as absolutely the latest date up to which the reduced garrison of one hundred men with two officers and a doctor could hold out. The Governor further stated that his intention was to proceed to the coast with the whole column and the refugees.

It is always easy to criticise actions after their occurrence, and to point out in the light of later events a course which would have given better results. It is therefore with some diffidence that we draw attention to the question whether the Governor would not have acted more wisely had he made his retreat to the coast at an earlier date. It was doubtless a very difficult matter to



The operations were not carried on without considerable losses on our side. The total number of Europeans of all ranks at any time in the field did not exceed 280 ; of these 9 were killed, 7 died of disease, 52 were wounded, 52 invalided. In the native ranks, numbering about 3800, 154 were killed or missing, 680 wounded, 102 died of disease. Of the carriers, about 10,000 in number, 45 were killed or wounded, 430 died of disease, and 50 native levies were killed. This total is not small, but it would have been very much greater but for the splendid work of the medical officers, under Dr McDowell, C.M.G., to whom Sir James Willcocks in his despatches draws well-deserved attention.

By the middle of November 1900, the work of the punitive columns was completed, and the Ashantis had no desire for further fighting. They had fought well, and can certainly claim for the future the treatment due to a brave, if barbarous enemy. While we fully admit that their customs and many fetish rites are repugnant to civilised ideas, it is a great mistake to consider the Ashantis as devoid of morality. That they certainly are not so, the negotiations which preceded Major Morris's arrival at Kumassi clearly prove. An armistice had been arranged, during which one of the refugees was shot while searching for food; and the Ashantis at once sent in word that the occurrence was an accident, the man having been killed by one of their force who was unaware of the arrangement. Again, in spite of the fact that, under the rules of war, no beleaguered post would be allowed reinforcements during an armistice, the Ashantis permitted Major Morris's column to pass, unopposed, over two stockades and through a large war-camp. It should be stated, in explanation of what might seem to have been a breach of the armistice on our part, that Major Morris had no notion that an armistice had been made; while, on the other hand, the Governor was equally unaware that Major Morris was approaching. Upon the whole, the character of the natives is such that in a few years, under reasonable government, this colony should develop large resources and be a valuable imperial possession.

gaps filled up, and continuity secured, without any loss of the variety congenial to the national temper and called for by national requirements.

The Government were by no means blind to the legislative possibilities of the situation thus presented. They were constrained by considerations alike of honour and of policy to make some provision for the relief of voluntary schools, still educating more than half of the working-class children of the nation, from a pressure for which their managers were in no sense responsible, and which had arisen from the gradual elevation of Departmental ideals in regard to primary education and sanitary requirements. Ministers sought to combine the fulfilment of this clear and unquestioned obligation with a scheme of legislation that would provide local authorities, resembling, in the main, the type indicated by the Bryce Commission, for the reorganisation of secondary education, but capable also of undertaking the supervision and control of elementary education within their respective areas.

This potential union of local educational administration was attempted not by any general and sweeping provision for the concentration of powers, but by a complex combination of clauses, which, whatever their theoretical justification, lent themselves with unfortunate readiness to the arts of obstruction. Thus the local educational authority—an education committee which was to be appointed by the County Council from within and without its own body, with the proviso that the County Council members were to be in a majority—was to act as, and be substituted for, the school attendance committee for every school district in the county not having a school board of its own and not being a non-county borough. Moreover, it might by agreement with the Education Department take over the administration of the duties of the Department in regard to the monies provided by Parliament, either for primary education or for science and art teaching, in relation to any schools in the county, and ‘in respect of securing and certifying the efficiency of schools in the county’—a very important and wide-reaching provision. Further, if any school board were declared by the Education Department to be in default, the education authority for the county comprising the district in question might, by order, be constituted the school

scheme. For in the latter case the element of 'fight' for a particular portion of the education field between two classes of authority—one existing and the other being brought into existence—disappears.

A comprehensive scheme involves, first and above all, the establishment of a single local authority, with power over the whole field of education within its area. And in favour of that reform there is about as near an approach to unanimity among those interested in the subject as is ever likely to be attained on any large question of domestic legislation in this country. There is, it is true, considerable difference of opinion as to whether the single educational authority should be elected *ad hoc* in each area, or should be formed, by indirect election and co-optation, on the general lines of the local authority for secondary education suggested by the Bryce Commission. Roughly speaking, the friends of the school board system appear to favour the former plan, and other educationalists generally the latter. The question is undoubtedly important, and we ourselves hold very strongly the view that, on grounds alike of education and of general administration, the concentration of responsibility in the County Council is the better plan. A County or County Borough Council Education Committee, strengthened by co-opted members from outside, would be less likely to divide on sharp party lines than a County or County Borough Education Board resulting from household suffrage. It would also, in our opinion, be much more certain to include a proper proportion of persons of special educational competence. The question of the method of appointment of the single education authority, though important, is after all one of detail, which could be debated and determined in Parliament without any approach to passion or bitterness. We may, however, remark here that, in our opinion, and, we imagine, in that of most persons who are favourable to the reinforced Committee of the County or County Borough Council as the single local education authority, it is certainly desirable that, in the first instance, this authority should include a distinct leaven of members representing the special knowledge and experience which have been acquired in the course of school board administration; and we should be glad to see security taken for this in any Bill dealing with the whole subject.

of them; and it is quite possible that some are to be found on the ministerial side also. But we believe that, even on this question, if the Government were to take a clear and bold line, and to propose to empower a new local educational authority to make adequate grants from the county rates to voluntary schools on receiving satisfactory concessions as to their management, they would find that the difficulties of the situation were much less serious than they might have supposed.

In any case we are convinced that in this instance the clear and bold line is the line at once of prudence and of patriotism. This country has no special liking for Ministers who are never prepared to risk anything in the way of parliamentary support for the settlement of great national questions. It has come, though late, to care about education; and ministers will best consult not only the interests of the country but their own by showing that they also can care and understand.

It is impossible to estimate to-day the dimensions which the copper-mining industry of South Africa is destined to attain, the value of the product being subject to much fluctuation; but taking the yield per ton of these mines as compared with those that are being worked in other parts of the world, there is every reason to believe that the industry is a growing one.

In the early days of the copper industry an event took place which, for the time, entirely absorbed public interest in South Africa, viz., the discovery of diamonds under somewhat romantic conditions. In March 1867 Mr John O'Reilly, who was returning from a hunting trip in the interior, passed the night at a farm called De Kalk, in the Hopetown district, south of the Orange River. In the evening he was looking through some curious river pebbles which the family had collected, amongst which one particularly attracted his attention. With the permission of the owner he submitted it to Dr Atherstone of Grahamstown, who declared it to be a veritable diamond of $21\frac{1}{2}$ carats, worth £500. The discovery caused great excitement, and resulted in an active search being made for similar stones; but this had no success for a year or eighteen months. In March 1869, however, the 'Star of South Africa' was found. It was 'obtained from a native witch-finder, who had been in possession of it for a long time, without the least idea of its value other than as a powerful charm.*' This diamond, after being cut and polished, was finally sold for 25,000*l.*, and passed into the possession of the Countess of Dudley.

Early in 1870 the Vaal River gravel at Pniel, close to Klip Drift, and near to the subsequently established town of Barkly West, was attacked in earnest; and new discoveries followed each other in rapid succession. Thus far only the alluvial deposits, which produced diamonds of very good quality, were known. The mine from which they were extracted must have been rich, and the river in flowing over it carried down the heavy gravel containing the diamonds, and deposited it somewhat capriciously along its banks. The muddy waters of the Vaal may still traverse this treasure-laden crater, or, in altering their course, may at some time in the past have left it exposed

* 'Diamonds and Gold in South Africa' (Reunert), page 7.

category of paying mines. So great is the capital required for the development and equipment of these mines, and so small relatively the population, that only the best have been so far worked; but, with gradually improving methods of extraction and probably decreased costs, a great expansion of the industry may be looked for, though in the somewhat distant future; and it may be predicted with confidence that the middle of the century will not see the exhaustion of the gold in this region.

The gold-mining industry in Rhodesia has been subject to many vicissitudes, owing to difficulties of communication, the Matabele war and subsequent rebellion, and the present hostilities, in spite of which, however, that country shows signs of progress. The revenue of the Mines Department for the year ending March 31st, 1900, was 79,472*l.* 14*s.* 3*d.*, as against 40,304*l.* 6*s.* 5*d.* for the previous year. The total number of stamps erected to date is 289, and 245 are in course of construction; eleven mining companies, with an issued capital of 1,859,000*l.*, have reached the producing stage; and between September 1898, when crushing began, and December 1st, 1900, 261,787 tons were crushed, which yielded 151,196 oz. of gold—an average of 11·56 dwts. per ton, excluding tailings. The production of the Tati Concessions is not included in these figures.

Expeditions have been sent to the north of the Zambesi River under the auspices of the Tanganyika Concessions Company, the Northern Copper (B.S.A.) Company, and others; as a result of which it is claimed that both gold and copper, in quantities that are believed to be profitable, have been discovered. Too little, however, has as yet been done in the locality to venture a prediction to-day as to the future of that region.

Nothing more than a sketch of the situation and production of the gold mines is possible within the limits of this paper; but sufficient is in evidence here to justify the belief that South Africa will be the greatest gold producer the world has so far known. Taking the best section of the Rand, about eleven and a half miles from Langlaagte Block B to the Glencairn, some gentlemen of repute in the mining world have made various computations as to the output of gold which may be anticipated from this section. In 1893 and 1895 the late Mr Hamilton Smith, assuming that a vertical depth of from 3000 to 3500 feet

proof is found in the well organised and carefully managed Compounds at Kimberley. This system is not found at Johannesburg, for gold-mining does not require the segregation of the labourers, gold not being so easily stolen as diamonds. On the other hand, at Johannesburg, the demoralisation of native labourers, from want of proper care, from treatment often very harsh, and from the effects of liquor too easily got, counteracts all the benefits which they might get from contact with civilisation. Many natives return to the Kimberley mines again and again at intervals spread over years, but to Johannesburg many go once and never again.

What is needed is not repressive and compulsory measures, but more organisation, in the shape of a Labour Department or Bureau, and efficient Government inspection of the conditions under which the native labourer lives and works. It may be said that it is not the duty of an administration to supply labour. That is true; but the welfare and protection of the native, and the prosperity of the country through the development of its resources, surely form part of the legitimate duties of all administrations.

Liquor.—On some questions there is considerable diversity of opinion among correspondents of the Native Races Committee; but on one point there is absolute unanimity, namely, that the use of alcoholic liquor is morally and physically destructive to the natives, and that for the sake of their welfare its sale should be really and not only nominally prohibited. To this opinion there is hardly an exception.

As to prohibition, the matter stands thus. In the Transvaal and the Cape Colony, except in some locations in the latter, the supply of liquor, whatever be the law, is simply unlimited, or limited only by the contents of the native's purse. It is in these two territories that the drink evil is at its worst. Real prohibition exists in certain territories. In Natal, the sale of drink to natives is forbidden in locations and towns; in Basutoland both sale and importation are prohibited; in the Orange River Colony, the prohibition appears to be thorough; in British Bechuanaland there is prohibition for natives only; in Khama's country the sale is prohibited to both natives and Europeans, but allowed to Europeans at one refresh-

quently wrote a (privately printed) memoir. In others, however, of the Northumbrian squires he inspired some awe, as a puzzling kind of person, who said and did enigmatic things. 'He was entirely unworldly' (writes one of his Embleton pupils). 'I never knew anyone who was less a respecter of persons, or who laid himself out so little to impress those who might be useful.' But to his parishioners, of all classes, he accommodated himself with remarkable versatility, and succeeded in winning their confidence to an unusual degree. 'I think' (says a friend and neighbour of his) 'he made it his chief aim to know all his parishioners and to be known of them.' They consulted him in their difficulties, and welcomed his advice, because 'he never gushed or said soft things,' but spoke to them 'not only as a clergyman but as a man of affairs.' 'I remember' (says a pupil) 'one virago in the parish who used to have delirium tremens. When she had a fit the vicar was the only man who could control her, and he was accordingly always called in.' 'He never spared himself to do his people a good turn; and once, at considerable inconvenience, took a consumptive fisher-girl all the way to Falmouth, to place her in a hospital there. Others among his parishioners 'he started in life and helped in substantial ways.' 'Even at this distance of time' (says one who worked with him there) 'it is wonderful how those who really knew him in his old parish and the diocese at large speak and think of him.'

But his energies were by no means confined to his parish. He became a guardian of the poor soon after his arrival in Embleton, and was subsequently elected chairman of the Board—an office which carried with it the chairmanship of the rural sanitary authority. From 1877 onwards he was chairman of the School Attendance Committee, which had just come into existence under the Education Act of 1876. In 1879 Bishop Lightfoot made him Rural Dean of Alnwick. Together with Canon Trotter, then vicar of Alnwick, he took a leading part in founding a provident dispensary for that town and the surrounding district. At Alnwick, too, he gave frequent lectures for the Mechanics' Institute, mostly on historical subjects; for he was always anxious to seize opportunities for coming in contact with the working classes, and ready to show them the interest which could be derived from the

as desired. He followed this up by declining an invitation to the great house, and by staying at the vicarage instead; and the stubborn parson soon afterwards received an invitation to stay at the Palace.'

Comparatively ignorant as he was of the Midlands before he came to Peterborough, Dr Creighton soon knew all about the district, and had visited every place of interest. A Leicestershire friend tells a story illustrative of the bishop's anxiety to know every parish in his diocese. He had expressed a desire to inspect Newtown Linford church—until lately a donative under the Earls of Stamford, and therefore a sealed book to a bishop. The fact that no bishop had ever been known to visit the place stimulated his curiosity. His guide took him a scrambling walk, over rocks and ferns, through Bradgate Park, past the ruined house in which Lady Jane Grey pursued her studies under Roger Ascham. The bishop, though he had never been there before, knew the whole history of the place. Arrived at the gate by which they hoped to make their exit from the park, it was found to be locked and insurmountable, while a ten-foot wall forbade further progress. 'I could not see' (says the narrator) 'how the episcopal tights and orthodox gaiters could overcome the obstacle. The bishop, however, declared he could get over the wall if I would give him a lift up and let him go first; and so we managed it. It was a scene I shall never forget.' The expedition concluded with the inspection of the church, to the delight of the village, which had never beheld a bishop before; and a church extension and restoration scheme was the result.

In the towns of Leicester and Northampton, where, as is well known, popular feeling is largely opposed to, or at least divergent from, the Church, Dr Creighton enjoyed a great and growing popularity, chiefly attributable to his capacity for looking at things from other people's points of view. He enjoyed his visits to these towns because 'it was a pleasure to him to come into contact with the hard-headed business qualities of a commercial and industrial society.' He frequently lectured to audiences largely composed of artisans; and the wide and just comprehensiveness of his ideas, his sincere affection for 'the people' in the largest sense, and the generous hopes he indulged for them, were warmly appreciated by

await, with keen interest, the 'Life,' which it is understood will be given to the world by the accomplished pen of one who was linked to him by the closest of human ties. Faults there were, no doubt, as in every character; but where the good predominates so largely it is needless to dwell on these. It is certainly rare to find so much intellectual force and so high a standard of conduct combined in one man; but in estimating their comparative value it may be well to remember what he said himself in his preface to the 'Life of Lord Lilford'—almost the last thing he wrote:

'The impression produced by character is, after all, more permanent than that produced by capacity. It passes into other lives, and is fruitful, as an influence, long after the results of capacity have perished in the using.'

R.

- Ramseyer, F., 'Jours d'angoisse à Commassie,' 500 *et seqq.*
- Recoln, C., 'L'Anarchie Littéraire,' 360.
- Redi, Francesco, his experiments on spontaneous generation, 392.
- Roberts, John, his aptitude for playing billiards, 485—style of his son's playing, 487.
- Roberts, P. E., his introduction to the work of Sir W. Hunter, 46.
- Roberts, W. Rhys, 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus: The Three Literary Letters,' 379.
- Robertson, Mr., his plays, 84.
- Robertson, L. G., 'Marine Boilers,' 407.
- Robinson, J. P., on the liquor trade of South Africa, 577.
- Roe, Sir Thomas, his services in the East India Company, 64.
- Rolleston, Professor, 'Forms of Animal Life,' 267, 274.
- Rosebery, Lord, his monograph on Napoleon, 205—on his treatment at St Helena, 219.
- Royal Agricultural Society of England, first annual show, 16.
- Russia, policy towards the Amir of Afghanistan, 156—attack on Panjdeh, 161.

S.

- Sadler, M. E., 'Lectures on Education in the Nineteenth Century,' 542.
- Saintsbury, George, 'A History of Criticism and Literary Taste in Europe,' 361. *See* Criticism.
- Schreiner, Olive, her address to the women of South Africa, 241.
- Scotland, condition of agriculture, 7.
- Scott, Clement, 'The Drama of Yesterday and To-day,' 79.
- Shepherd, Sir S., on the liquor traffic in South Africa, 576.
- Sloane, Prof., his 'Life of Napoleon Buonaparte,' 205.
- Spalding, Henry, on precautions against bad tenants, 440.

Spencer, Herbert, his term 'survival of the fittest,' 272.

Stevenson, H. W., his style of playing billiards, 494.

Switzerland, its military system, 197.

Symonds, J. A., his feeling for religion, 467.

T.

Tennyson and Virgil: a Literary Parallel, 99—birth of Tennyson, 103—loyalty, 104—parents, 105—education, *ib.*—friends, 106—on the character of Cambridge studies, 109—early poems, 111—studies, 112—appearance, 114—charge of plagiarism, 118—other charges, 119—qualities, 121—passion for natural science, 123—patriotism, *ib.*—method of composing, 125—restoration of old English words and forms, 126—manner of reading aloud, 127. *See* 'Virgil and Tennyson.'

Thiébault, his volumes on Napoleon, 204—on his appearance, 215—his return from Waterloo, 218.

U.

United States, treatment of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, 279. *See* Nicaraguan Canal.

V.

Vallery-Radot, R., 'La Vie de Pasteur,' 385, 404.

Varius, his Life of Virgil, 101.

Victoria, Queen, The Character of, 301—composite, 303—discrimination, 304—inherent obstinacy, *ib.*—habit of suspending judgment, 306—simplicity and kindliness, 307—love of power, 308—punctuality, *ib.*—sympathy, 309—scheme of manner, 310—dramatic instinct, 311—genius for movement, 312—315—conquest of the French, 313—relations with the Empress Eugénie, 314—her smile, 315—sense of humour, 316—wit, 317—courage 318—political relation to religion, 319—personal, 319—322—interest in literature, 322—art, 323—music, 324—drama, *ib.*—the court, 325—instinct for good breeding, 327—ladies-in-waiting, 328—maids of

